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In what ways do primary and secondary schools act to internationalize their institutional ethos?

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Abstract

This research into school identity studies school agency by focusing on how schools act to self-determine an aspirational international identity. Aspirational identity is conceptualized in Bourdieusian terms as intentional position-taking in the face of constraints, both external – field competition for capital resources – and internal - a subject's habitus (which, for schools, necessitates critical evaluation of the putative notion of institutional habitus). Schools fundamentally distinct from many organizations in that a school's identity subsumes a role in the determination of the identity of its students, may construe and pursue the realization of an element to their school identity that is international. Schools may do this by creating an international ethos, in order to internationalize student identity. In this study, to analyse ethos- and identity-internationalizing initiatives in a sufficiently broad, unifying manner, applicable to any type of school, use is made of Bernstein's notion of the pedagogization of knowledge to inspire an analytical framework developed from the Pedagogic Device. Data from interviews with school leaders in 15 schools in 10 countries, showed ethos internationalizing initiatives to be divisible into three classes: firstly, initiatives pertaining to the medium by which knowledge is transmitted, particularly the language of instruction and the nationality mix of students and teachers; secondly, the knowledge transmitted to students may be deemed to be more or less international in content; thirdly, the knowledge to be transmitted may be prepared for transmission to students in ways that are more or less international by the process that Bernstein calls recontextualization. A potent means of internationalizing school identity and thus ethos was seen to be (international) recontextualization of knowledge by schools themselves, sometimes but not always in conjunction with an external agency. It was found that schools, irrespective of the composition by nationality of their student body, according to varying degrees of agency they display to construe and pursue an international identity for themselves and students, may be classified according to three 'ideal-types': international identity creators; international identity assemblers; or international identity strengtheners. Some of the international identity strengtheners are shown to exhibit positive habitus to aspire to international identity as they stake more advantageous field positions by operating simultaneously in both national and transnational fields.

List of Abbreviations

CAS	Creativity, Action, Service (IBDP subject)
CIS	Council of International Schools
IB	International Baccalaureate
IBDP	International Baccalaureate Diploma Program
IBMYP	International Baccalaureate Middle Years Program
IBPYP	International Baccalaureate Primary Years Program
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IE	International Education
FLES	First Language English Speaker
ORF	Official Recontextualization Field
LP	Learner Profile (LP)
PD	Pedagogic Device
PDAF	Pedagogic Device Analytical Framework
PR	Pedagogic Recontextualization
PRF	Pedagogic Recontextualization Field
SBS	School Based Syllabus (a type of IBDP subject)
TOK	Theory of Knowledge (an IBDP subject)

Introduction

The aim of this research project is to contribute to the study of the notion of school agency, focusing on the particular aspect of agency that can be considered to be the school's self-determination of its own identity, specifically in the sense of it being aspirational, and thus distinct from an identity that may be ascribed to it. The study sets out to show that to a greater or lesser extent, schools may employ a collective embodiment of purpose, both in order to determine their own identity and, via a conscious attempt to set an ethos, in order to determine elements of the identity of their students. The type of ethos and thus identity to be studied here is that of an education that is in some fashion international.

Against a backdrop of globalization, international education can be seen to be an important element of the identity of an increasing number of schools. Not only is the overall number of international programs of education such as those of the International Baccalaureate (IB) increasing, such programs are now also offered to more and more schools that may in the past have been considered less international than national; a scan of the IB Schools Directory (IB 2015) reveals that no more than a small fraction of the 1700 schools authorized to offer IB programs in the US are international by name. Around the world, there are schools located within a home system, and accountable to state inspection, which adopt (additionally) an international evaluation process such as accreditation by the Council of International Schools (CIS 2015). Some schools, for example in Australia, do this in the first language of the region; others such as in Turkey undergo this process in what for the local inspectorate is a foreign language. It will be seen in the thesis that simpler conceptualizations increasingly give way to less straightforward classification of the nature of international education, which Cambridge (2011:131) describes as contested amid 'economic, political and socio-cultural dilemmas'. To address the question of international school identity or ethos of international education, there will be a need for careful disaggregation of the complex sense of 'international education'.

Before that stage though, it is argued that the nature of international education, and thus the identity of schools that may claim to offer it, needs to be considered as a subset of the broader question of identity, itself a contested field of study, with identity issues at all levels problematized (Giddens 1991). Identity is still, "problematic", and in need of better understanding of its "dynamics" (Albert,

Ashworth & Dutton 2000:14). Underlying at least some of the problematic nature of identity is the distinction between identities framed in realist versus those framed in nominalist ontologies; relatively recently, there has been a departure from conceptions of identity that traditionally focussed on elements of a subject that are immutable. Such views of immutable identity, within a realist ontology, have been termed essentialist in that they put forward "essential or core features as the unique property of a collective's members" (Cerulo 1997). Whereas such traditional, essentialist definitions of identity see it as an entity that is both ascribed externally by others, and fixed, in later descriptions, "identity is not unitary or essential" (Kumar 1995), and increasingly currency is given to views of identity that are anti-essentialist, viewed within a nominalist ontology. In this vein, the nature of identity is described by Foucault (1984) as a process, within which, for Berger & Luckman (1967), Hall (1996), Kroskrity (1993), identity should be considered not as given but rather as a possibility (Bakhtin 1981) – something to be taken on or negotiated or by a process that can lead to multiple possible identities (Schiffrin 2006). Thus, socio-constructionist views of identity permit conceptualization of aspiration, whereby people may, as a result of various motivating factors, act more or less to form an identity.

Similarly, in this dissertation it will be argued that there is scope for schools too to be defined in an essentialist manner; to act in a manner that is more or less aspirational, and thus to engage more or less in identity setting practices. Consideration of how this may be done forms the first half of the theoretical section of the dissertation, leading to the crystallization of the first research question, which will concern itself with school identity and purpose. It will necessitate careful exploration of the relationship between school identity, school ethos and student identity. Central to this thesis, however, is recognition that any discussion of aspiration must be assessed against established theorization of the realities of social life, which include wide-ranging and deep-seated obstacles to the very notion of aspiration. It will be seen that there is a tension between any kind of aspirational identity, with its implied capacity for upward social mobility, and the social pressures that conspire against it. Aspiration in identity practices will be shown to be militated against by a vast array of theorization of how the social world tends to reproduce itself, and the power structures within it, rather than allow widespread freedom in aspirational identity. Thus, to keep the current study of aspirational school identity grounded in reality, it will be described explicitly in terms of concepts from the study of social reproduction

In this regard there will be detailed reference to the work of both Bourdieu (1986, 1990, 1992) and Bernstein (1990, 2000). From Bernstein there will be focus on the theorization known as the Pedagogization of Knowledge, proposed to explain the self-servingly reproductive influence exerted by power brokers in any society to maintain the status quo, via its education practices. Nevertheless it will be shown to be possible to marshal Social Reproduction Theory to account for strategies of aspirational identity practices. Discussion of the Bourdieusian concepts of Field and Habitus will be applied to the question of how schools can be said to exhibit purpose in aspirational identity practices (for this study, these identity practices will be focussed on elements of identity that are somehow international). In order to account for the desire, or will, of any actor, individual or school, to aspire to something beyond submission to the social status quo, there will be examination of Bourdieu's (1985, 1990) notion of *habitus*, which has been seen (Jenkins 1992, Nash 1999, 2002) to have a widely documented negative impact on students' will to aspire, thereby leaving them prone to forces of reproduction of social inequality. Given its focus on institutional identity aspiration, in the current dissertation, to enable meaningful discussion of *habitus* with regard to aspiration by a school there needs to be clarification of a term associated with derivations of the work of Bourdieu: *institutional habitus*. This term, since being coined by McDonough (1997), has led to debate which has a direct bearing on the notion of school agency as treated in this study. In the literature there is less than clear consensus on whether this term, which by no means has received universal acceptance (supporters include Reay (1998, 2004) and detractors Atkinson (2011)), refers to something which obtains ***in a*** school or instead something that obtains ***by a*** school. It is this notion of collective purpose which will be used to address the first research question of how schools can be seen to enact (international) identity practices as institutions.

The second research question, that of what, in order to set a more international ethos, it is that schools do, will be underpinned theoretically by drawing on Bernstein's Pedagogic Device, which will be shown to be useful to describe in general terms the scope of what it is that schools might potentially do. Particularly in a world that is becoming more globalized, Solomon (1999:266) argues that the Pedagogic Device is useful in order to understand the implications of global changes for identity and to meet a new "*globalized need for an explanatory framework and for tools to understand and analyse contemporary changes occurring in work, in education".* It will be argued in Chapter 2 that, since it offers such a broad perspective on how the reproductive elements of education are

enacted; the Pedagogic Device might be used to map out how and where aspirational endeavour might counter those various constraints; the Pedagogic Device will be adapted to suggest a framework for the analysis of endeavour in aspirational international identity, to be analyzed in terms of schools attempting to impart particular cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) to attain mobility in the field. It will be shown in Chapter 2 how the adaptation of Bernstein's elucidation of rules governing the pedagogization of knowledge may be used to develop a conceptual framework for use in this analysis of an aspirational identity. This analysis will lead into a discussion of how schools may be seen to be classifiable by the scope of their internationalizing ambition, measured in terms of 'international' capital that they aim to transmit to students.

The value of the study

The value of this study will be first of all to underline the importance of agency, for individual learners and for institutions, in the determination of their own identity and thus trajectory. Generally speaking, the analytical tools theorized by Bourdieu, while extremely prevalent in the analysis of constraints to the social and educational trajectories of individual actors within schools and universities, have been brought to bear less frequently in the study of the trajectory of educational institutions themselves. At the tertiary level, a general absence of sociological analysis of the institutional agency in Bourdieusian terms is punctuated by use of the notion of *field* in analysis by: Maton (2005) in a consideration of "field' to study higher education policy and autonomy; Marginson (2008) in theoretical discussion of how universities 'take positions', and Naidoo (1998, 2004) in treatment of institutional strategies of universities are prominent studies. Strathdee (2009) also considers field, as well as cultural capital, in a study of university reputation but from the point of view of institutional reputational benefits to the graduate of the university, rather than as institutional strategy. At the primary and secondary level, what schools do to determine their own position and trajectory (as opposed to that of the students in them) has been relatively undertreated by Bourdieusian analysis. It is the aim of this research to apply sociological scholarship on agency exhibited by primary and secondary schools, even though schools may have been traditionally regarded, by being perceived as less autonomous than universities, as less amenable to such an approach. It will be seen that some schools may display different degrees of habitus to strategize their own field position, not only by attempting to move within a field but also by attempting to enter a new field.

Even though the target identity studied here will be one particular type, an identity of international education, it can be considered relevant to every school: not only will the principles elucidated be generalizable to any school but, beyond that, it is argued here that international education, in the face of globalization's reduced emphasis on categorizations by nation, is coming, to all schools, anyway - ready or not. Furthermore, this study confronts a major criticism of cultural capital theorization (Kisida et al 2014:281) which is that although it is widely cited when contrasting theories of cultural reproduction and upward mobility, study of the mechanisms of the acquisition of cultural capital has been relatively neglected. The study will show how schools can be more agentive, and give examples of how they may set their own policies, within whichever supra-institutional authority they may work, to impart, and accrue, certain capital. This potential for policy development work subsumes clear determination of what schools will intend their ethos to be, thereby aiming to have a positive effect on student academic aspirations and mobility, irrespective of the essential categorizations that are ascribed to them.

It is further claimed that this study is additionally worthwhile in terms of light that it may shed on some complex and contested notions that appear frequently in literature on educational research; explicit consideration of the relationship between Bourdieu's habitus and the notion of aspiration, on the one hand, and careful distinction between 'culture', 'ethos' and 'institutional habitus' on the other, may clarify thinking on identity formation in schools and any hoped-for effect it may have on students. In this vein, the term 'international education' has also been seen to be ambiguous and is in need of clarification; it is hoped that there will be value perceived by others in the framework for its analysis that is developed here. Perhaps most importantly it is hoped that this study can, through its consideration of school agency by means of international education in a globalizing world, help anchor the study of international education closer to the centre of mainstream education. International education, this study sets out to demonstrate, is most definitely not the rarefied preserve of a small number of lucky young people privileged with economically secure international lifestyle, but a form of endeavour, as the world itself becomes more international, increasingly worthy of aspiration to, by every school and every student.

An outline of the thesis.

The outline of the thesis is as follows: Chapter 1 provides theoretical underpinnings for the first research question:

> ***To what extent is it possible to consider schools acting as institutions to develop an aspirational identity?***

This will necessitate scrutiny of both the notion of aspirational identity in schools and of the constraining realities of social life over which any aspiration must prevail; detailed reference will be made to the notions of Field and Habitus as expounded by Bourdieu and to the Bernstein notion of the Pedagogization of Knowledge. From this theory will emerge the notion of schools' displaying, in the process of internationalizing their ethos, collective embodiment of purpose.

Chapter 2 provides theoretical underpinnings for the second research question:

> ***What actions are taken by schools to internationalize their ethos and thereby internationalize the identity of their students?***

This chapter develops discussion of aspirational school identity as attempted field movement, by exploring the possibility of describing how a school's attempt to acquire for itself and to impart to its students a certain type of capital: international cultural capital, by the study of one particular type of aspirational school identity, one that is more international. It will be shown that certain initiatives on the part of any school to develop a more international identity for itself and thus for its students can be classified in a framework obtained from the Bernstein notion of the pedagogization of knowledge. It will be shown how Research Question 2 can be made more amenable to nuanced analysis by being broken down (in terms taken from the pedagogization of knowledge) as follows:

2. b. ***How can knowledge be pedagogically transmitted and evaluated in a manner more or less international?***

2. b. ***How can knowledge to be transmitted be more or less international in itself?***

2. c. ***How can knowledge to be transmitted be more or less internationally recontextualized?***

Chapter 3 will describe how to gather data to answer the two principal research questions, the study was carried out. In Chapter 4 there is analysis of the data

gathered to answer the first research question: to what extent is it possible to consider schools acting as institutions to develop an aspirational identity? Data will be examined firstly in terms of collective embodiment of purpose and secondly as a function of the degree to which schools can be seen to display agency. In Chapter 5 there is analysis of the data gathered to answer research question 2; the framework developed from Bernstein's notion of the pedagogization of knowledge in Chapter 2 is used to classify actions taken by schools to internationalize their identity and that of their students. The analysis in Chapters 4 & 5 will lead to a discussion, in Chapter 6, of one way in which schools may be classified according to the scope of their internationalizing ambition and self-sufficiency. This will in turn lead to a brief discussion of school internationalizing identity practices in terms of Habitus and Field.

Chapter 1 Aspirational Identity in schools

The aim of the thesis is to frame the challenge of student mobility as a challenge to schools to determine their own identity which subsumes an ethos of aspirational international identity. Within that aim, this chapter explores tension between on the one hand aspirational identity as a factor in social mobility and on the other social pressures that lead to social inertia and the maintenance of identities that, once ascribed, resist change.

Firstly, the chapter considers agency in identity aspiration by schools, a complex notion that hinges on the fact that aspirational identity for a school will subsume some intention by the school to aspire, via the notion of ethos, to influence student identities, in particular by raising expectations held by students for their future. Having learners who are aspirational is a state of affairs that is widely aspired to, by educational policy makers and educators. U.S. President Obama urged citizens to attend post-secondary institutions and proclaimed that "by 2020 America will once again have the highest proportions of college graduates in the world" (Obama, 2009). In the UK, a Department for Education paper asserts that the instilling of an appropriately aspirational ethos is axiomatically part of good teaching (DfE 2010:29). And a second UK government policy document (Cabinet Office 2011:36) argues that along with knowledge and skills, aspirations in the child are a vital ingredient in the creation of schools that are 'engines of social mobility'. Horvat and Davis (2011) appeal for a better understanding of how school structures shape individual students' social trajectories and how such insights from such understanding may enable school to better 'fulfil their transformative mission' rather than remain sites of social reproduction.

Secondly, consideration of aspirational identity will be tempered by analysis of sociological thought known as social reproduction theory (treated below in 1.4) which holds that in opposition to any aspiration to change and social mobility are ranged counter-forces which seem to conspire to maintain the social status quo, resisting change and thus social mobility. To this end, in the second half of Chapter 1, the argument of the thesis to express aspiration as a function of constraints caused by social reproduction will be driven by treatment of three theoretical conceptualizations posited and debated as potentially powerful explanatory devices taken from the work of Bourdieu ('field' and 'habitus', to be treated in 1.5 & 1.6 respectively) and of Bernstein (pedagogization of knowledge – to be discussed in

1.7). Construal by any social actor of an aspirational identity will be taken to entail positive mobility in a *field*, where any upward movement is limited by capital resources in the face of peer competition from other actors. (The notion of capital resources will be explored in Chapter 2.) Possible movement in a competitive field is, it will be seen, also constrained by Bourdieusian notion of *habitus*, which militates against an individual having the will to pursue a construal of a new identity, possibly to the extent of not construing it in the first place. Bernstein's theorization of the pedagogization of knowledge will be shown to have power in explaining how forces against social (upward) mobility by any agent emanate not only from the agent's (competitive) peers but also from the very way that education is mediated in society.

1.1 Aspirational identity,

Thornborrow and Brown (2009:370) describe an aspirational identity as a "story-type or template in which an individual construes him- or herself as one who is earnestly desirous of being a particular kind of person and self-consciously and consistently in pursuit of this objective". In this way, for this thesis, identity aspiration is taken to mean the self-conscious and willing construal and pursuit through discourse and positioning of a certain self-representation of a subject. Such conceptualization of aspiration, whereby people may as a result of various motivating factors act to form an identity which differs from the identity bestowed upon them by their origins, would appear to be permitted more by views of identity that are socio-constructionist than by those that can considered to be essentialist which propose "essential or core features as the unique property of a collective's members" (Cerulo 1997).

Whereas such traditional, essentialist definitions of identity see it as an entity that is both ascribed externally by others, and fixed, less essentialist principles for identity determination create a space for agency which may forge an identity. (Kumar 1995) proclaims that in the post-modern, globalizing world, "identity is not unitary or essential". Indeed, increasingly, currency is given to views of identity that are anti-essentialist. Cerulo (1997) cites the work of inter alia Thomas, Berger, and Goffman for the development of such views of identity that are considered not essentialist but socio-constructionist. In this vein, the nature of identity is described by Foucault (1984) as a process, within which, for Berger & Luckman (1967), Hall (1996), Kroskrity (1993), identity should be considered not as given but rather as negotiated or taken on by a process that can lead to multiple possible identities – what Schiffrin (2006) calls "constellations of identities". In such an anti-essentialist vision of the self, for Bucholtz (1999), Barrett (1999), and Potter (2003), any subject may be

considered to be a social actor forging for themself through social negotiation and entextualization (Bauman and Briggs 1990) an identity or identities, other than the sole one ascribed to it by a more essentialist view. Such depiction of subjects forging their own identity is now established in the literature of the sociology of education as people doing 'identity work'. (See for example Ingram 2011 and Stahl 2014.) Another term for this identity work may be taken to be 'identity practices'.

1.2 School identity and school culture

Likewise, it will be argued that there is more or less scope for schools too to be defined in a more or less essentialist manner. There is no extensive literature on school identity being taken on; descriptions of school identity, where they are explicitly invoked, tend to be essentialist. Essentialist definitions of school identity include official categorizations by type, such as, ubiquitously, 'primary school', or, in Turkey a 'science high school', or in the Netherlands the less academic type of middle school known as 'HAVO' (*hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs).* Such categorizations of school identity may feature in general comparative studies of schools and school systems are generally uncontested. Such objectivist, categorical definitions of school type will normally have a basis in local law allowing, within discussion of any system that includes them, definitions to be presented as axiomatic.

Where, in contrast to such essentialist definitions of school identity by category, other, more constructivist, views of school identity do occur, they have tended to be used in more delicate analysis, within essentialist classifications, of what makes particular schools unique among peer schools by essentialist definition. However, these finer analyses of school identity, within a particular school type, on a school by school basis, have tended to be framed not in terms of 'identity' but in terms of other related concepts particularly those of school 'ethos' (to be dealt with below) and school 'culture'. Typically, descriptions of a school's culture, as one component of a school's distinctiveness, have been made with the ostensible purpose of understanding the practices and influence of the school, and in order to provide a clear description of the institutional identity by focussing on how people in that particular school interact. The word 'culture' has traditionally been associated with the results of a school's evaluation. In this usage, it has been widely noted that culture is a word favoured in official external reports, in which views, often framed as omnisciently judgmental, may include collocations such as 'toxic culture', 'culture of racism', or 'culture of excellence'. In this vein a large part of the literature on organizational and school culture has concerned itself with describing culture in a

source school or other organization with a view to using that description of source organization as an exotic prescription, or proscription, to be applied in the improvement of other target schools, as seen in attempts to forge a link between organizational culture and performance, since Deal & Kennedy (1983). The validity of this claim for deterministic causality, i.e. that a school (or any organization) can improve by prescribing the replicated culture of another, has been seriously questioned (Alvesson 2002; James & Connelly 2009).

1.3 Ethos and aspirational school identity

It is important to distinguish between 'culture' and 'ethos'. In doing so I take a position different from Smith (2003) who argues that the word 'ethos' is generally preferable in schools, in the study of which *culture* should not be used at all. Rather, I take 'culture', whether it refers to a part of the school, or to the school itself, to be more concerned with the state of a given school, (a state which is more or less amenable to external description). McLaughlin (2010) argues that negative descriptions of a school culture tend to describe problems with how things in a school currently are, whereas criticisms of school ethos take issue with what it is that other people want the school to be. Following this lead, for this study, *ethos* will be taken to be more concerned with prescription. Although McLaughlin (2010) (while underlining its importance) warns that 'ethos' is often used in an under-analysed manner, and Solvason (2005) argues that along with 'spirit', 'ambience', 'culture' and climate', the term 'ethos' is often insufficiently defined to the point of being effectively interchangeable with the others, there are discernible certain patterns associated with its use. As pointed out by James and Connolly (2009:8) 'ethos' does seem to be used particularly in the literature on school effectiveness and improvement (Croft 1963, Rutter et al 1979). Thus, at least in the paradigm of school improvement, *ethos* can be used to reflect a conscious attempt to realize an aspiration for how things should be. Within the broader remit of organizational culture/identity, the use of 'ethos' thus seems to be reserved for schools (and perhaps a small set of other organizations such as the military, the religious) as an optional tool to denote something that the school wants to impose. Even though such use is not consistent – see for example Solvason (2005) and Smith (2003) for both of whom ethos is not something prescribed but a (described) resultant of other factors – it is preferred here that *ethos* be used in the sense of an element of the school which is prescribed, as in, for example, Donnelly (2000), who describes how the ethos of (in her paper, Catholic) schools is "articulated by the (Catholic Church) hierarchy which sets out the purpose and direction that such schools should take".

Donnelly also cites Hogan (1984) who identifies in 'ethos' a sense of the custodial, whereby:

> *The authorities of a school or educational system view themselves largely as custodians of a set of standards which are to be preserved, defended and transmitted through the agency of schools and colleges.*
>
> (Hogan 1984:695)

In this way, a prescribed ethos can be seen as constituting at least one significant element of a school's identity. The term 'ethos' for this dissertation is thus defined as an element of school identity which is prescribed, specifically by school authorities. It is by such a mechanism of ethos prescription that schools may, nominally at least, be given a religious identity, or an identity that sets store by high academic standards, or by creativity, and so on. Such ethos prescription can also be argued to be part of statements of identity of independent schools, presumably as part of a need to define an identity that is unique from other independent schools, which they often do by means of mission statements, prospectuses, and so on.

However, whatever the type of school, there is one element of school identity that distinguishes schools from all other organizations. Ethos can be seen (Torrington and Weightman 1989) as the expressed desire (or edict) of the Authority within an organization to ensure that individuals within the organization commit to what is deemed natural, proper and right. Thus, argues Donnelly (2000), in the world of education a school's ethos 'wields a certain amount of power to condition people to think and act in an 'acceptable' manner', which is taken in this study to mean attempts to exert influence on those people's identity. For Bronfenbrenner (1974), attention to ethos is essential for any full analysis of the processes of educative influence by schools over students. Rich and Schachter (2012) report it is only recently that researchers have started to explore school effects on aspects of identity development (e.g., Faircloth, 2009, Lannegrand-Willems and Bosma, 2006).

It is taken by this study to be the case that the identity of a school is distinct from the identity of many organizations in this critical way: any account of a school identity assumes that the school plays a role of in the determination of the identity of the students who spend time in it. Thus, distinct from many organizations, any full determination of the identity of a school must be embedded with a claim about the future identities of students who are educated there. In this way, a school's identity is given a further level of complexity in the sense that the question of what the school is (or wants to be) subsumes the question of what the school wants its students to become not just when in the school but also after they have left. Given that schools have the role of preparing young people for society, a school not only

has to concern itself with (the development of) its own identity but also, at one step removed, with those of its wards.

Of course, what might be a desirable element of school identity for one authority may be deemed undesirable to critical observers not only externally but also by people whose identity the authority may be attempting to shape – i.e. the students (Stahl 2014). Donnelly (2000) draws a distinction between what she terms a 'positivistic' view of ethos as prescribed and an antipositivistic one, which she asserts is how the ethos can be described which in fact emerges over time from the real world interaction of people in the school (which is closer to the descriptive sense of ethos above (Solvason 2005, Smith 2003). In this vein, Chow-Hoy (2001) argues that ethos be thought of as the aspects of school culture climate and philosophy that impinge directly upon pupils' affective and cognitive learning that are perceived by all the school's stakeholders, thus contending that an ethos needs to be generally visible, and needs to be concerned with learning. For this dissertation, as in Donnelly's sense of 'positivistic', the term 'aspirational ethos' will be used to mean a school's prescriptive attempt to set an element or elements of school identity, which may be contrasted with the use 'culture' to depict the *result* of the school's deterministic attempt to influence student identity via school ethos. In any comparison of schools there will thus be variation not only between the types of ethos they intend, but also in their degree of success in achieving what is intended (as opposed to what is lived). I will thus define the term 'intended ethos' to be a school's deliberate conscious intention to shape student identity in a certain way or ways. The real significance of the word 'ethos' thus appears to be that it may be used not only to distinguish descriptively between schools who share a putative essentialist identity category, but that it may also be used by a school to make an identity claim by making a claim of allegiance, either to mark itself out as belonging to a particular essentialist category, or at least as bearing some of the hallmarks of that category. Thus a school may have a military ethos because it is literally (by essentialist definition) a military school, or it may have a military ethos in the more metaphorical sense that it professes to set great store by short hair, uniforms and discipline. It is not unknown for schools previously known by essentialist definition to strive, when pertinent essentialist categories are, or have become, less clearly delineated, to define their own identity in terms that are less essentialist. For example, a study by Sultmann & Brown (2014) of Catholic school identity describes how there has been a 'staggering' decrease in the proportion of Catholic students in Catholic schools in Australia. According to their figures, 51 % of Catholics attend

government schools and only 75 % of enrolments in Catholic schools are Catholic. The implication is that in the past the figures would have been closer to 100% of all Catholic school children going to Catholic schools, and 100% of the population of Catholic schools being Catholic. In the wake of this breaking down of the traditional more essentialist category boundaries, the Sultmann and Brown study shows how the Catholic Church in Australia is going through a process of determining the identity of Catholic schools less in (the essentialist) terms of the professed denomination of the children in it and more by a means of trying to distil or crystallize a certain description of desired endeavour for all students in Australian Catholic schools regardless of the students' religious origins.

It will be proposed in Chapter 2 that a parallel may be drawn between this more post-modern definition of Catholic school identity and what will be seen as changing views of the identity of schools that in some way espouse international education. In the same way that (in Australia, at least) Catholic schools were once defined as schools for Catholics but now as schools where Catholic things happen, it will be argued in Chapter 2 that, whereas international schools were, in the past, for international students, as per an identity in essentialist terms, international schools may now be considered, in socio-constructionist terms, to be schools that conceive of themselves as international because they do international things. That is to say that they can, by creating (or claiming to create) a certain ethos, make an aspirational claim for identity for the school, via a stated intention to influence in a certain way the identity of students in the school. However, before that, in the second half of Chapter 1, it will be shown that any optimism that may attach to the notion of aspirational identity and thus social mobility must be tempered by examination of the social realities that tend to prevail against them. It will be seen how, in the field of sociology of education, limits to the realization of aspirational identity are posed by contingent circumstances that impact on a given subject's ability to make individual choices are studied within a paradigm where social reproduction theory militates against aspiration and social mobility.

1.4 The obstacle to aspirational identity - social reproduction

Both for individual students and for schools, aspiring to be is very different from being. Henderson et al (2007:14) observe that '*individuals are not simply free to choose who and what they want to be*'. Indeed, it will now be argued that, to be taken seriously, any entertainment of the notion of aspirational identity must be seen to be clearly understood to be severely constrained; if there is insufficient demonstration of understanding of concrete details of the obstacles to aspiration,

then any consideration of self-construed identity will be at risk of being perceived not only as unrealistic, even worthy of ridicule, as in this rather disparaging (UK) journalistic reference to an attempt to be upwardly mobile in the world of sport:

> *"...the very American addiction to "goals and dreams", the sort of aspirational hokum that sustains Hollywood and bad novels (Mitchell 2016)"*

In education, Hoyle and Wallace (2007, 2008) elucidate very clearly how within schools, there is irony endemic in paradoxical discrepancies between what is aimed for and what happens in reality; as a clear example, they hold up the fatuously unfeasible mission statement, which is one manifestation of aspirational identity. In this dissertation, aspirational identity is taken to be one way of articulating a desire to be socially mobile; but as neatly expressed by Kisida et al (2014) any theorization of social mobility must be seen to be competing with theorization of social reproduction, which is by definition not merely social inequality but also its systematic perpetuation. Thus, desirable as educational aspiration may be, literature of educational/social (im)mobility suggests that young people are held back to a large degree by their origins within certain social classificatory categories, whether by social stratification, or race or gender. Thus, in this thesis, to reduce the danger of its central theme of aspirational identity appearing in a light of irony-inducing fancy, discussion of school identity aspiration will be grounded in social reproduction theory itself.

Social reproduction theory holds that social forces ultimately result in reduced choice for the individual; in opposition to any aspiration to change and social mobility are ranged counter-forces which seem to conspire to maintain the social status quo resisting change, and thus social mobility. This is what Bourdieu (1988:101) describes as "social fate", which propels people towards destinations which are socially pre-ordained. Bourdieu further argued that this systematic curtailing of the choice of the individual is a form of (what he terms "symbolic") violence, explaining how people in a subaltern position in any given inegalitarian status quo come to accept systematized lessening of opportunity as a state of affairs which is natural and thereby not to be challenged. This view rapidly became profoundly influential; according to Lamont (1989), symbolic violence may be placed in a classification of power and cultural theorization alongside related concepts such as *hegemony* (Gramsci 1971:12); whereby "ruling ideas emanating from elites are internalised by a majority of individuals within a given community … (to) become the defining motif of everyday life and appear as common sense that is the traditional popular conception of the world". A parallel may also be drawn between symbolic

violence and the Marxist idea of 'false consciousness', whereby people internalise the discourses of the dominant as the normal state, meaning that for the dominated "the most intolerable conditions of existence can so often be perceived as acceptable and even natural" (Bourdieu 1998:1). A perpetuation of such iniquities of privilege being taken to be a natural, common sense state of affairs both constrains the potential for growth and the development of potential self-ordained identity even for young people as they are being educated.

Central to this dissertation is the argument that social mobility will entail aspiration to a new identity, and conversely that forces of social reproduction will militate against such mobility, and perpetuate identities that are pre-ascribed. Whereas in an ideal world it might be expected that young people would have equal chances of aspiring to a new identity and thus achieving social mobility, there is little evidence of this in the real world. One key element of aspiration, student (educational) decision-making, is shown (Ball, Davies, David and Reay 2002, Ball 2003, Reay, David and Ball 2005, Crozier et al 2008, Davey 2012) to be a classed practice, which reduces the chances of many young people attending university. Balfanze (2009) questions whether US high schools offer equal opportunities to all. Swanson (2008) documents low rates of high school completion among the urban poor. Kupfer (2015) documents the low rate of aspirational mobility among working class young. Lack of social mobility is due to more than just class; asymmetric dynamics of power can be shown to run not only on class on but also on gender and race lines (Devine-Eller 2005). In the US, McCray and Beachum (2010) describe asymmetries of capital and power in US education as a 'white plutocracy'. Shavit and Bossfield (1993), Shavit, Arum and Gamoran (2007), inter alia, show how post-school expectations and choices in the US too are influenced by social categorization and stratification. Stahl (2014) is just one critic who cautions against considering aspiration an antidote to what are deep and complex problems. Although low achievement may theoretically linked to perceptions of a lack of aspiration it may be, and has been, just as readily ascribed to social inequality; Napolitano, Pacholok, &. Furstenberg (2014) is just one recent example of a study showing clearly how educational aspirations where they do exist have to be tempered by financial realities, in a climate where even middle-Income US families struggle to finance post-secondary study. Tilleczek (2008) does not blame unacceptable dropout rates among US high school students on the perceived absence of aspiration. Kupfer (2015) offers an up-to-date survey of the relative lack of upward social mobility framed as an analysis of how UK working class children have tended, since well

before the relatively recent introduction of tuition fees for tertiary education, not to go to university.

1.5 Bourdieu's elaboration of the competitive field

Agency in school and student identity is closely bound to the notion of field. Bourdieu has focused in great detail on the notion of field elaborating on its previous use in sociology since the 1960s (see Martin 2003) as a means of studying organized striving to develop a conceptual frame that resonates in education, which itself has been referred to (Atkinson 2011:337) as a "highly-stratified and struggle-filled field". Bourdieu (1985, 1992) defines the field as a network or a configuration of objective relations between positions objectively defined in the resistance and in the determinations they impose upon the occupants agents or institutions by their present and potential situation in the structure of the distribution of power (or capital) whose possession commands answers to the specific profits that are at stake in the field as well as by their objective relation to other positions. For Bourdieu, the field is then a means of describing relative position as hierarchical distributions of capital, which has value specific to the field in which it is held. Mobility in the field is linked to performance: the acquisition of more capital equates to movement to a preferential position in field and a modified identity. Conversely, field-dominant positions represent superior holdings of capital (including cultural capital, of which there will be examination in Chapter 2).

The field explains the difficulties inherent in making social headway through cultural capital gain; within a given field, Bourdieu distinguishes between, on one hand, the dominant - those who take position – and, on the other, the dominated - those who are positioned. Subjects who are moved, that is passively positioned (or who are left where they are), are clearly more 'patient' than 'agent'. Agents in a field are in a never-ending process of position taking in the face of competition from other agents, with the result that many would be agents are not able in fact to be agentive i.e. exhibit agency to the extent they planned. One way that this may manifest itself is that agents dominant in a given field strive to maintain the currently beneficial status quo and thus their superiority, by maintaining the current rules and resisting efforts to subvert them on the part of subaltern 'agents', who from the point of view of the dominating would ideally not be agents at all, but 'patients' who will not disturb the status quo. An example of this phenomenon documented by Wells and Serna (1997) reveals how egalitarian-minded attempts by school authorities to equalize chances of upward mobility for all children by removing a school streaming system

were resisted by stakeholders (influential parents) whose stronger position in the field would be preserved by the maintenance of the current system.

Beyond the study of constraints on social mobility of individuals, it is the aim of this research to apply sociological scholarship on agency exhibited by primary and secondary schools. Although work has been done (Naidoo 1998, 2004; Marginson 2008; Strathdee 2009) on field position taking by universities, what (primary/secondary) schools do to determine their own position and trajectory (as opposed to that of the pupils in them) has been largely untreated by Bourdieusian analysis. A case will be made that it is possible to use 'field' and 'capital' in a view of the world that is still grounded in Bourdieu's realism but which at the same, conversely, allows for aspiration to be expressed in a freer, more positive, sense. In other words, there will be a focus on what an actor, in the face of the Bourdieusian constraints, may be able to do, nevertheless, to achieve field mobility, which can be seen as another way of articulating aspirational identity. In this vein, it will be argued that identity aspiration within a field can be considered as striving by schools for capital gain and thus positional advantage. Field theory would dictate that the fact of a school's being positioned in any field would determine for it the capital it can impart to its students. Therefore such positive mobility by a school would entail a gain of capital. Conversely, according to field theory greater acquisition of cultural capital on the part of an individual may equate to an ameliorated position in the field. However it will also be argued that aspiration, in addition to being thought of as moving (up) within a field, may also be framed in terms of challenging traditional field boundaries. In this way, emphasis on the Bourdieu terms is 'flipped' from explicit focus on constraints to explicit focus on agency in face of the constraints. In this 'cup-half-full' view of agency despite constraints (rather than the conversely pessimistic view of constraints despite agency) the actor may be taken, in our context of education, to be equally appropriately either an individual actor or a school acting with its own agency.

This study takes the position that not only a university but also a school can be considered as an agent, with the capacity to position itself within a field, and even to consider entering a new field. According to Bourdieu's field theory then, for a school to achieve self-determination of an improved field position, and thus a refined identity, it will have to succeed in overcoming intra-field competition (possibly by subverting the field rules). Another strategy allowed by the theory would be a successful move into another field, by accruing, or in order to accrue, extra capital holdings. One particular type of capital that can be accrued, that of international

cultural capital, will be examined in Chapter 2. Before that, in the following section, there is consideration of how capacity for deliberate action to change field position is limited by what is known as 'habitus'.

1.6 Habitus

Whereas field theory describes constraints on aspiration that are external to the subject: the more or less overt striving of competitors, and the resultant stratification of visible capital opportunity, the notion of habitus is concerned much more with a subject's inner world: specifically the effects of social experience on their decision making processes; it is concerned with precisely why an entity in a given situation may be 'disposed' (whatever that instantaneous calculus of advantage or disadvantage between the field/capital status of the subject versus the rest), to attempt to be mobile, or to persist with attempts to be mobile or not. Even though 'habitus' has been criticized for being 'over-simplified' (Swartz 1997), 'underdefined' (Sullivan 2002) and 'nebulous, unquantifiable and thus of questionable value in educational research' (Van de Werfhorst 2010), there continues to be critical application of this concept to the question of why many students do not aspire (Kisida 2014, Edgerton & Roberts 2014, Ingram 2011, Atkinson 2011). Discussion of habitus for the individual will be followed by evaluation of the relevance of this concept for organizational identity and aspiration, including discussion of the notion of 'institutional habitus'.

For Bourdieu (1990), understanding why agents may act, but more often do not act, to attempt to move in a field is the explanatory device known as habitus, which is a set of habits and dispositions that the agent has acquired, over time, from particular sets of prior life conditions, to limit "an actor's generative and creative capacity for thought and action". Similarly, Kisida et al (2014:283), summarizing Bourdieu (1984), Dumais (2006) and McClelland (1990), asserts that these dispositions "provide an orientation to the world and ultimately shape one's expectations and aspirations". Bourdieu (1990:58) asserts members of a social class have a similar habitus. Extensive literature on classed schools and education systems summarized by Kupfer (2015) cites habitus as a cause of social inertia. Thus, there is a clear correlation between habitus and social mobility, and more specifically, between habitus and aspiration, the desire and attempt to be socially mobile. Gaddis (2013) portrays the habitus as a mediator between cultural capital and academic achievement.

There appear to be readings of habitus that may be considered to be more or less pessimistic, depending on degrees of determinism ascribed to it. Reay (2004:432)

surveys more pessimistic interpretations referring to charges of 'latent determinism', i.e. mechanistic translation of structures into human behaviour that is pre-determined aimed at habitus by Giroux (1983), Jenkins (1992), King (2000), and Lareau (1987). Edgerton & Roberts (2014:199) report criticism of habitus as an "overly deterministic construct that leaves little room for individual agency innovation and change". There seems to be more description of how habitus theory can be marshalled (e.g. Swartz 1997) to explain how "structural disadvantages can be internalised into relatively durable dispositions that can be transmitted intergenerationally through socialisation and produce forms of self-defeating behaviour' than they can to produce forms of behaviour that is, what might alternatively, be termed self-promoting.

In contrast to this more pessimistic view, other commentators (Reay 2004, Sweetman 2003, Adams 2006, and Atkinson 2010) see habitus as allowing for the possibility of human agency. Glaesser & Cooper (2013) argue that a more agentive view of habitus theory is possible if it is considered in conjunction with rational action theory contending that the two notions together can account for educational decision-making. Indeed, Bourdieu (1988) makes it explicit that people act actively and knowingly with a practical sense. Furthermore, other critics point out that, in the real world, there appears not only to be room for agency, but evidence of agency; the fact that socially mobile social actors are widely acknowledged to exist (Roksa and Potter 2011) would seem to suggest that the notion of habitus is overly pessimistic, or at least as it is generally understood. Swartz (1997:103) suggests that some ambiguity is made possible by Bourdieu's use of the term 'disposition', with its connotations of both structure and propensity. (It can be added that 'disposition' is transitively ambiguous: is it active or passive; what is the subject?). Thus, the double role of habitus: on the one hand habitus sets structural limits for action. On the other hand habitus generates perceptions, aspirations and practices (that correspond to the structure and properties of earlier socialisation.) This suggests that subjects from socializing contexts that are culturally impoverished face a double obstacle: not only do they start from a position of less strength but also by being socialized in a weaker field position they are learning unwittingly that they belong in a subaltern position and that it would be unnatural for them to aspire to a self-construal of identity that would move them into a less subaltern position (where, if their starting point had been different they would have been, on the contrary, socialized into believing that it is acceptable, even expected, for them to be in that more socially privileged position, and so on). Mechanisms for this hampering

of aspiration by socialization have been described by Ingram (2011) and Stahl (2014) in accounts of how subjects of school age do 'identity work', to negotiate and reconcile contrasting construals of more versus less academic identities projected on the one hand by school authorities and on the other by peers. It often happens, Ingram finds, that school-aged boys find themselves pulled, by what she terms the "tug" of habitus, away from more academic construals of self.

In summary, habitus can be considered an accumulated weight of past, class based, self-construals of identity (built up through previous experience and prior bouts of identity negotiation), which imparts a higher probability of future construals of self being similar to, rather than different from, past construals of self, and that effects of successive social engagements will not be independent of previous ones, which leave subtle but lasting and life-directing traces on a subject's ability to make identity choices. It seems that, whereas field competition (and concomitant capital poverty – to be discussed in Chapter 2) limit a subject's mobility even if they aspire to it, the ability of a subject to ***want*** to be mobile, i.e. to aspire to a new identity is limited, at a more or less unconscious level, by habitus. Where some readings of habitus have been excessively deterministic, less pessimistic readings contend that at any moment the subject has an opportunity, greater or smaller, more or less likely to succeed, to aspire to an outcome which at variance with the weight and momentum of their origins and previous experiences. Understanding of habitus has great implications for schools that are trying, by setting a particular ethos, to influence students' ability to construe certain identities for themselves.

One obstacle to a school with aspiration to any identity that is different from the current one is the fact that every student in the school is constantly surrounded by the role models that are their peers and circle outside school, who to adapt Ingram (2011) will have a deleterious 'tugging' influence on individuals and draw them towards the status quo, which might be away from university and towards early (un)employment. In contrast, it is easy to conceive that individuals who are nurtured by more socially advantaged families and who at school are surrounded by classmates on whom expectations of academic and professional success are higher, will tend to be pulled in the opposite direction, away from attempts at beginning working life early and towards university. Attempts at more general accounts of how student mobility is hampered by other students, or by other people around them at school, incorporate elements such as the nature of the student population, or the existing attitude of students, or of teachers, have led to the positing of the notion of 'institutional habitus', a problematic concept. Reay (1998) and Reay, David and Ball

(2001) summarizing McDonough 1997 argue that a conception of institutional habitus would 'constitute a complex amalgam of agency and structure and could be understood as the impact of a cultural group or social class as it is mediated through an organization'. Reay, David & Ball (2001) and Ingram (2011) elaborate the explanatory power they perceive in 'institutional habitus'. They maintain that institutional habitus is a school effect, a variable which leads to classed, raced and gendered processes being played out 'semi autonomously' as students make their choices for higher education. Smyth and Banks (2012) incorporate the concept without question into their study of student choices in transition to higher education. Reay (1998) and Burke, Emmerich & Ingram (2013) have also argued for the theorization of both these collective terms. There has been criticism, notably by Atkinson (2011), that a term such as 'institutional habitus' exacerbates existing confusion; Atkinson argues that 'institutional habitus' clouds discussion of both 'habitus' and 'ethos', from which he finds it difficult to distinguish. Taking particular issue with a perceived ambiguity apparent in the writing of Ingram (2011), which, Atkinson (2011:337) asserts, "casually shuttles between describing the institutional habitus as an almost agential entity on the one hand and a social structure shaping pupils' habitus on the other."-Indeed such an ambiguity would go to the heart of the central habitus problem of whether the concept is really about environmental effects on action, or on action in the face of structural constraints. However, it is this notion of an agential institution which, although difficult to pin down, underpins this thesis - that schools act to determine elements of their own identity.

Atkinson (2011), referring to Bourdieu's description of the 'embodied' habitus, argues that to use the term 'habitus' with respect to an institution rather than to a person would be an unsound venture - logically flawed by ascribing human qualities to a supra-individual entity. Although in education the idea of habitus being ascribed to organizations is less common, there are counter-views from the world of organizational studies: Moingeon & Ramanantsoa (1997) assert that it is possible to conceive of an organization's habitus as the way that members (of the organization) embody some characteristics of the organization in similar ways leading to "common imagery"; for Emirbayer and Johnson (2008:5), habitus can be considered as durable principles of judgment and practice framed within the study of organizations.

Following this lead, this study contends that it is useful to consider schools as supra-individual entities that can develop a sense of identity and attempt to gain capital and be mobile in the field, and thus to attempt to exert influence on their students' identities, via their ethos. Parallel to how it was argued earlier in this chapter that,

whereas field competition and cultural poverty limit a person's mobility, the ability of a subject to ***want*** to be mobile, i.e. to aspire to a new identity, is determined, at a more or less unconscious level, by habitus, it is asserted here that a school may be also be seen to be wanting to push, more or less, against field competition, and even field boundaries; whereas some readings of habitus have been excessively deterministic, less pessimistic readings contend that at any moment the subject has an opportunity, greater or smaller, more or less likely to succeed, to aspire to an outcome which at variance with the weight and momentum of their origins and previous experiences.

Thus, it is taken to be the case for this thesis that schools will be more or less likely to push against the status quo. In pushing, or not, they will be taken to be exhibiting something which corresponds to 'want' on the part of a person. A school that pushes back against constraining forces of social inertia is taken to be exhibiting a more positive habitus. Understanding of habitus has great implications for schools that are trying, by setting a particular ethos, to influence students' ability to construe certain identities for themselves. Part of the current study will explicitly seek to determine mechanisms by which schools, by some mechanism of common intention, do indeed construe (and pursue) identities for themselves.

1.7 Bernstein's Pedagogization of Knowledge

Within the paradigm of social reproduction the work of Bernstein supplies broad and elaborate theorizations of how education may be seen to be used not to change but to reproduce society. Within his conceptualization known as the pedagogization of knowledge, Bernstein (1990, 2000) posits the Pedagogic Device (discussed below) to describe processes by which dominant culture, identity, and consciousness tend to be reproduced leading to the preservation of a status quo by dominant classes, who establish their own ideological representations. Bernstein's model of knowledge pedagogization has evinced previous scholarly interest through its perceived application to broad conceptualizations. Apple (2002) refers to it to consider relative autonomy in education. The potential usefulness of Bernstein's work in analysing systems of education in a globalizing world has been described by inter alia Castells (2000), Moore (2004) and Solomon, who states (1999:266) that interest in the work of Bernstein can be related to a new

> *'globalized need for an explanatory framework and for tools to understand and analyse contemporary changes occurring in work, in education….'*

According to Singh (2002:572), this aspect of Bernstein's theorization is of enormous significance to an analysis of the production and reproduction of

knowledge in a more global society. This is not necessarily to suggest that there is anything particularly 'global' in the work of Bernstein; rather, his concrete description of how knowledge and other desirable qualities are culturally transmitted can be seen to claim universality. This is enacted by means of what Bernstein calls the 'pedagogic device, described as organizing rules by which is converted into pedagogic communication". For Bernstein, 'pedagogic' seems to denote a 'meta' level of analysis, used in order to analyse not how a particular system of education works but rather how systems of education, with all their differences, may be conceived as working according to principles that are common, as evidenced by Bernstein's (1990:134) argument for a need for systematic interrogation of the 'common denominator of all discourses, education and the modalities of its transmission'. Thus, following Bernstein scholars have applied the PD to diverse contexts: for Tan (2010) in an analysis of contested educational reform in Singapore, the pedagogic device is a weapon of ownership which is the means of perpetuating power through discursive means. For Wright & Froehlich (2012) in their analysis of what they argue to be systematic disprivileging of music education, the Pedagogic Device serves to illustrate how school knowledge is never transmitted in isolation from "norms and values condoned and propagated by dominant societal groups" and that personal choice is tightly constrained by socio-political exigencies. Compared to Bourdieu, the theorization of Bernstein suggests that the notion of field requires a wider reading, one that takes account not only of intra-field striving but also of ways in which what is taught to students in any education system is manufactured and ordered within fields where authority is actively mediated not only by schools (or universities as learning environments) but also by universities as sources of knowledge and various non-educational agencies as sources of authorization for what is to be taught.

By means of the Pedagogic Device, Singh (2002:573) summarizes Bernstein's elucidation of common principles in education in terms of certain rules as follows:

> certain knowledge deemed to be worthy of pedagogic transmission is, by a set of ***distributive*** rules, ordered in a way that reflects power relationships between social groups;
>
> this ordered knowledge is transformed, by a specifiable set of ***recontextualizing*** rules, into a pedagogic discourse, a form in which the knowledge is amenable to pedagogic transmission;

> the practice of the pedagogic transmission of the pedagogic discourse is circumscribed, by means of a specifiable set of ***evaluative*** rules, by constraints both on what counts as valid transmission and on what counts as valid acquisition of knowledge.

Bernstein stresses that these three sets of rules are interconnected such that the above is not merely a linear process. At the same time, each of the three sets of rules is presented with additional elements of detail, to be examined more closely both in Chapter 2 and in the empirical study itself. The introduction of the PD at this juncture serves to emphasize the depth and breadth of social forces that are lined up and active in the suppression of individual aspirational identity and thus social mobility

Conclusion to Chapter 1

In counterpoint to the sketch of aspirational school identity drawn in 1.1, 1.2 & 1.3, the second half of Chapter 1 surveys a sobering array of constraints to aspirational identities on individuals and thus to the potential for school agency in the construal of identity for themselves and for students. In objective terms, education in general is seen as a competitive field, within which mobility is difficult, with (im)mobility dependent on a subject's (in)capacity to acquire capital. Whereas field competition and capital poverty limit a subject's mobility, the ability of a subject to ***want*** to be mobile, i.e. to aspire to a new identity is limited, at a more or less unconscious level, by habitus. Even though, as habitus theory instructs us, a subject's likelihood to act in a certain manner is bound up in their past, degrees of determinism in habitus have been shown to exist and, thus, the notion of habitus has been shown to have some positive potential for not only student- but also for school-action. It has been argued that one way to do this is for a school to demonstrate collective embodiment of purpose in the construal of its own identity and consequently be assertive in the setting of its ethos by means of which it sets out to influence student identity. While in this chapter it has been established that Bernstein's Pedagogic Device, which gives a deep-seated account of how forces of social reproduction militate against aspiration and social mobility, is sufficiently broad to be applicable to any type of education.

Hence, in Chapter 2 the Pedagogic Device will be used, in a way to be discussed, as a broad-based conception which is amenable to an all-encompassing analysis of different types of educational activity, including aspirational international identity. It will be shown in the next chapter that, in conjunction with elaboration of the Bourdieu notion of cultural capital, a classificatory use of the Pedagogic Device will

serve to describe more fully what schools can do to impart certain cultural capital that will contribute to an international identity, thus addressing the second research question.

Chapter 2 Agency in the construal of an ethos of international education

With the term 'ethos' defined as a school's deterministic attempt to set (at least one element of) a school's identity that will have a deliberate intention of shaping the identity of the students in that school in a certain way, this chapter examines how one notional element of a school's self-determined identity can be taken to be the degree to which the school construes an ethos of education that is international. It was established in Chapter 1 that aspirational identity practices can be envisioned in terms of position-taking in a field by individual actors and, it was suggested, by schools. Without any elaboration, it was proposed that a school would need, in order to set/change identity i.e. field position, to provide certain (extra or distinct) capital.

Chapter 2 will pursue the notion that to determine an international ethos (and thus a more international identity for its students), a school will need to provide capital that is somehow international in order either to move to a more international position within a field or to aspire to move to a field that is more international. The chapter will be organized in three parts: firstly, there will be discussion of capital (particularly cultural capital); secondly, there will be exploration, in a contested field, of what it is that identity elements of international education may be proposed to be; thirdly, there will explanation of how initiatives to develop a school ethos characterized by elements of international may be analyzed in a sufficiently broad fashion to encompass considerations of international education both more and less essentialist

2.1 Imparting cultural capital

It having been established that an aspirant's (in)ability to move successfully in a field, and thus achieve a new, aspired-for identity, depends on their capacity to acquire capital, this section examines in more detail the nature of cultural capital, which is elaborated by Bourdieu (1986) to complement other previously more established contemplations of economic and social capita. In a detailed account of how capital, particularly cultural capital, is mediated in education, Bourdieu argues that cultural capital, which he shows to be manifested in many guises, can be acquired and exchanged with the other forms of capital. Lamont and Lareau (1989) express Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital as "widely-shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviours, goods and credentials." Robinson and Garnier 1985, cited by Lareau & Weininger (1999), define cultural capital in a broad enough fashion to include not only cultural but also linguistic

competence, as well as social skills. Although Devine-Eller (2005:14) questions whether one concept can adequately explain causal mechanisms for inequality over such an array of disparate activities, and even though Kingston (2001) argues that expansion of the definition of cultural capital may reduce its explicatory value, in this research project the scope of cultural capital is kept deliberately broad. The fact that Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital has contributed to clear explication of educational and thus social inequality has not by itself led to solutions to that inequality. Some criticism of cultural capital theorization (Kisida et al 2014:281) has focussed on the fact that although it is widely cited when contrasting theories of cultural reproduction and mobility, study of the mechanisms of the acquisition of cultural capital has been relatively neglected, at least in part because causal mechanisms are not clear, which suggests that the concept of cultural capital may be better at describing than explaining social inequality (Kingston 2001, Lareau and Horvat 1999). In this regard, Bourdieu (1977, 1990) is pessimistically insistent that to gain sufficient cultural capital to maintain a dominant position in society, one must be born into a beneficial social stratum and get to attend the right school. Nevertheless, a more optimistic standpoint is possible: DiMaggio (1982) has written on life-long cultural capital acquisition; Roksa and Potter (2011) document intergenerational cultural mobility.

Of fundamental importance in any consideration of cultural capital is the role of language. For Bourdieu and Boltanski (1975), there exists a 'linguistic market', where the market is controlled by global elites whose linguistic variety comes to be known as the legitimate or standard language. This they call (in Eckert 2000) "a concentration of global power and control from above of societal material and symbolic resources". A type of hegemony exists now in the dominating role of English, which is the 'lingua franca' of globalization (Lauder 2007), and access to education in which, has been identified as a *sine qua non* of elites in countries where English is not the general language of education (Lai and Byram 2003).

This hegemonic status of English is seen in the fact that, within a globalizing world, one way that schools can help their students to aspire is by helping them to acquire language that will allow them access to the globalizing world. In this regard the role in internationalized education of English is immediately clear; schools that teach their students English, and even more so, in English, can be seen to be helping their students to gain cultural capital that will enable social dominance. For schools and students that already teach and are taught in English, the fact of globalization can be seen as serendipitously reinforcing that social dominance. On the other hand, for

schools and students for whom English has not been the traditional medium of instruction, attempts to teach English and to use it as the medium of instruction can be framed as positive self-deterministic not only attempts to attain more cultural capital within their field but also as attempts, by using English for not only education but also for work, to overcome traditional field boundaries and break into a more international field.

Naturally, moving up in the world, by learning to use English, just as by any other means, is of course easier said than done. For Bourdieu in later work it was a particular mode of expression associated with the French educated elite, involving clarity logic and wit which create a formed a linguistic hegemony. Since, for Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992), social mobility is being able to demonstrate increases in holdings of cultural capital considered to be meaningful in a particular social context; the inability to increase cultural capital holdings a drawback. Bourdieu (1977), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argue that life chances are influenced by degrees of intergenerational inheritance of cultural capital. In terms of language acquisition, this is perhaps particularly obvious; people brought up in a country where English is used in the education system can be argued to be able to count themselves as advantaged over those who have no access to education in English and have to learn to be proficient in English as a language they learn after their first one.

2.2 Providing particular cultural capital to develop an ethos of international education

Although, as has been established above, one obvious way that cultural capital can be considered to be international is with regards to language, it will now be demonstrated that, to be complete, any consideration of how an ethos of international education may be aspired to by acquiring/imparting international capital must be much broader. To frame consideration of international identity and ethos in schools there will now follow a survey of what international education may be taken to be. This survey will need to be sufficiently broad to include multiple construals of the (deceptively simple) term `international education` (IE), the meaning of which is contested. Cambridge (2011:131) describes the general field of IE as contested amid 'economic, political and socio-cultural dilemmas', which may be taken to include those emanating from globalization: "the intensification and rapidity of movement and migration of people, ideas, and economic and cultural capital across national boundaries" (Matus & McCarthy 2003:73), and from other more global imaginings (Appadurai 1996), including what Aronowitz & De Fazio (1994) call a

'new global metastate'. In light of these more global, post-modernist conceptions of the world it is argued here that descriptions of efforts by schools to provide as part of their ethos (and thus identity) some aspect(s) of `international education` need, in order to be sufficiently inclusive, need to accommodate both essentialist and socio-constructionist definitions of identity. Certainly, wide but inconsistent use of the term IE has led to significant ambiguity and confusion. There should perhaps not be surprise at this ambiguity, one obvious reason for which is purely linguistic. There is absence, in the term *international education*, of specific transitivity; a certain elasticity of potential significance is thus caused by the presence of an abstract noun (*education*) derived from a verb unmodified by stated subjects and objects of that verb. It is this, at least in part, which has led to the currency of meanings ascribable to this term which are ostensibly distinct; this confusing polysemy inherent to *international education* is reflected throughout the literature.

One possible sense is that of an international view, as in survey, of education, as in comparative studies between education in different countries; see Bray (2007) for a discussion of 'international education' versus 'comparative education'. This sense of a perspective that is internationally comparative is contrasted by Cambridge and Thompson (2004), with the enactment of education by entities that are international, one manifestation of which would be so-called 'international schools'. However, other international 'actors' could be taken to mean the learners themselves, and it can be argued that the term IE may be applicable to the education that happens in schools in national systems with learners of heterogeneous national or ethnic background; see for example Hill (2007), who has contrasted education in so-called international schools with multicultural education anchored in state systems of education. Furthermore when describing international actors, 'international' is also used in the sense of 'national of another country', which leads, in one country at least, to the term IE being used to describe the industry surrounding students from other countries, as evidenced by this usage in an article in the Age newspaper (Das 2010):

> *"Australia's international education industry has suffered another massive blow with the collapse of eight English language colleges, leaving 2300 foreign students around the country in the dark over their future."*

Distinct from the (older) Cambridge and Thompson (2004) sense of 'IE' being tied to the internationalness of the enacting entities, it becomes increasingly clear that 'IE' can also be taken to mean the internationalness of what is enacted. In an interesting echo of the Sultmann & Brown (2014) observation in Chapter 1 above that some Catholic schools may now be categorized less as schools for Catholics and more as

schools where Catholic things happen, Bunnell (2015) points out that from around the turn of the millennium there has been growing realization of the importance of looking at IE in terms not so much of what it is but more in terms of what it does. In this sense, it is the process 'education' itself that is qualified by 'international', and can thus be taken to refer to education with any international dimension offered to any student population, whether mono-national or multinational. Hill (2007) states that international education is not confined to international schools, and describes "education for international mindedness" (Hill 2000, 2006; Haywood 2007). Marshall (2007b, 2011) has described proposed and implemented international dimensions to the education on offer in schools that are defined essentially as national schools in the UK. It is straightforward to find on the public record significant numbers of schools in various countries that, while not 'international' by traditional definition, state their aim to offer to their student population an education that is 'international' in nature, such as by offering an "international" program such as from the organization known as the International Baccalaureate (IB): less than 5% of the approximately 1700 schools authorized to offer IB programs in the US are international by constitution (IB 2015). Although thus ostensibly established in the field of IE as a prominent agent, the IB itself is not immune to the difficulty of articulating exactly what international education is. The IB Diploma was described by a former head of the organization as "applied international education" (Peterson 1977), but such an assertion is difficult to evaluate. Walker (2006:119) then head of IB has conceded: '*in the end, much of what we do is not really international education*'. In this vein, Hagoort (1994: 11) describes how the Diploma Programme has developed "from a programme for international schools, to an international programme for schools". Furthermore, many schools that cannot be identified in essentialist terms as international have obtained accreditation by organizations such as the Council of International Schools (CIS): the greatest number of CIS accredited schools in any one country is in Australia, where there are forty, of which only two are, 'essentially', 'international' schools (CIS 2015).

This broadening out of the term IE such that it can be claimed by schools that are not international by constitution has been accompanied by a proliferation of terms that suggest a splintering in the overall field. Other terms that appear in the literature include: "cosmopolitanism" (Nussbaum 2002), "education for cosmopolitanism" Gunesch 2004, "cosmopolitan learning" (Rizvi 2009); "translocalist internationalization" (Chan and Dymock 2008) "global education" (Marshall 2007b: 356); "international schooling" (Bates 2011). Thus, the innocuous term international

education seems to apply to a number of not easily reconcilable elements. Hayden, Levy & Thompson (2007:1) refer to incorporation of elements of international education within national systems being parallel to education in 'international schools' but without suggesting that the two are, or be, connected; Hill (2007) appeals for a scrutiny of common ground between international and multicultural education; Marshall (2007a: 38) noted that the two significant strands of, on one hand, provision of a global dimension to mainstream teaching and, on the other, education in international schools, had in academic debate hitherto been kept separate.

It is thus possible to argue that in the absence of a means of analysis of international education that is sufficiently broad to subsume all this splintering and ontological contestedness, there is a great danger that significant phenomena may be overlooked. Where there is over simplistic reliance on bivalent classification such as international school versus non-international school to determine what is and what is not international education, offerings within the so-called international schools will tend to be more visible than those in non-international schools, which then thus fall between the cracks of any analysis. From such a realist viewpoint, any (nominalist) construal of performed internationalism will be less visible than perceptions of internationalism deriving from a school's essentialist typological status. Therefore, any aspiration to international education by, typologically speaking, uninternational schools risks being regarded as being of less significance.

Even for an audience receptive to the possibility of an alternative ontology, any framing of discussion of the possibility of IE existing outside the confines of schools that are known as 'international schools' will, through the necessity to challenge assumptions, require extra linguistic effort. This extra linguistic effort (known as "markedness") manifests itself as an excessive obligation to explain itself (as in "methinks he protesteth too much"). The result is that not all debate on international education is framed in terms that are linguistically even terms. Compare the pithiness and immediacy of the expression:"*It may be proposed that international education takes place in international schools*" (Cambridge 2011:130) with the circumlocution deemed necessary by the International Baccalaureate (2006) in its two page long justification for a more non-essentialist view of. Similarly, the reference by Marshall (2007a:38) above to 'mainstream' can thus be seen (given that, in most debate on education, 'mainstream' would anyway be the default tacitly assumed norm) to be marked, showing that the writer is attempting to describe something outside the established paradigm. Similarly Hayden and Thompson

(2015) describe international education, by essentialist typology; in their discussion, schools with international initiatives are described as more or less 'traditional', and as 'Type A' and so on. Even if this is not perceived as a pecking order, with the internationalizing elements in other schools, in contrast to efforts in 'international schools' being relegated, there remains the danger inherent in any such premature classification of significant phenomena falling through the cracks. Thus, from the viewpoint of an educator working in national schools, it may be argued that such essentialist considerations of the term "IE" have led to the privileging of a narrow sense that cannot take into full account educational changes outside the world of 'international schools'. Any fully effective analysis of elements, in a school's identity, of an ethos of international education thus needs to be framed sufficiently broadly, in no only essentialist but also non-essentialist terms to capture international education within both realist and nominalist ontologies.

It is argued that not only there is a need for deep-seated and more systematic more detailed analytical focus on this element of schools' being international by doing rather than being deemed international by essentialist definition of school type, but that analysis of what is being internationally done needs to be framed in such a way that the ostensible ***type*** of school not even be considered.

2.3 Framing research questions in a contested ontology

In order to avoid the nature of international education being classified, and thus delimited, prematurely, and to capture as many manifestations of IE initiatives as possible, any view of international education must be framed sufficiently broadly to capture international education within both realist and nominalist ontologies. Any comprehensive analysis of elements of a school's identity/ethos of international education will need to avoid this bias, and present a view of international education that avoids ontological privileging of its essentialist construals by not overlooking more aspirational construals. In order to address, in as broad a manner as possible, the primary research question of how schools can make realistic and credible (institutional) claims to an aspirational international identity, I propose a method for contemplating IE in terms of a pre-existing more axiomatic description of education itself. It was seen in Chapter 1 that by means of the Pedagogic Device, Bernstein elucidates common principles in education in terms of certain rules as follows (adapted from Singh 2002:573):

> certain knowledge deemed to be worthy of pedagogic transmission is, by a set of ***distributive*** rules, ordered in a way that reflects power relationships between social groups;

this ordered knowledge is transformed, by a specifiable set of ***recontextualizing*** rules, into a pedagogic discourse, a form in which the knowledge is amenable to pedagogic transmission;

the practice of the pedagogic transmission of the pedagogic discourse is circumscribed, by means of a specifiable set of ***evaluative*** rules, by constraints both on what counts as valid transmission and on what counts as valid acquisition of knowledge.

It may be suggested that it is possible to develop, from this description of the pedagogization of knowledge above, a statement which expresses in Bernstein's terms an account, in the most general sense, of the process of education itself. Education, it can thus be argued, is (for Bernstein): the pedagogic transmission and evaluation of pedagogic discourse which has been created through the recontextualization of knowledge deemed worthy of pedagogic transmission and classified and ordered in ways that reflect power relations between social groups. This all happens in what he calls a recontextualization *field*, via transactions between universities, government authorities, and examination boards, which traditionally would have been circumscribed within a particular nation (or some subdivision of it). At the same time, each of the three sets of rules is presented with additional elements of detail, to be examined more closely both in Chapter 2 and in the empirical study itself, where it will be shown, as Bernstein stresses, that these three sets of rules are interconnected such that the above is not merely a linear process.

I claim universality for this conception of pedagogization, and thus its applicability to the broadest possible casting of the net required by this research project, because for Bernstein, 'pedagogic' seems to denote a 'meta' level of analysis, used in order to analyse not how a particular system of education works but rather how systems of education, with all their differences, may be conceived as working according to principles that are common, as evidenced by Bernstein's (1990:134) argument for a need for systematic interrogation of the 'common denominator of all discourses, education and the modalities of its transmission. In Chapter 1 there was explicit recognition of the fact that Bernstein's Pedagogic Device has been more widely used, including by Bernstein himself, to articulate social reproduction and thus the difficulty of realizing aspirational identity. However, for the current stage of the argument, where the focus is on the need for an analytical lens that is sufficiently broad to incorporate a diffuse field, it is being posited as just such a potentially useful wide-angled lens. An example of similarly broad-based use of the Pedagogic

Device would be Collin's (2015) application to the study of literacy. Stressing the value of the PD as a wide-ranging instrument, Collin cites Moore's (2000) application of the Bernsteinian pedagogic device to account for contested notions of what should be considered core in university humanities studies. Chen and Derewianka (2009) applied the pedagogic device to permit analysis sufficiently broad to demonstrate how a single academic topic, literacy education, can be considered as straddling, in three separate continents, fields of production as diverse as linguistics, psychology, sociology, literary studies, and media studies.

In this vein of breadth and inclusiveness across previous territorial (essentialist) demarcations, this thesis goes one step further to suggest that Bernstein's Pedagogic Device provides no less than a useable definition of education itself. If the PD is sufficiently inclusive to be able to address the scope of constraints against which educational endeavour, including aspirational educational endeavour, will come up, against across all disciplines and between all power groups, then, it can be argued, the PD is sufficiently inclusive to frame discussion of the scope of constraints against which educational endeavour, including aspirational educational endeavour, may push.

Thus it may be used to arrive at a definition of international education that is similarly amenable to analysis that is broad and thus useful in any attempt to evince a description of international education within a more global ontology, leading to a broad scheme for considering international education as follows (which, it should be clear, is no more than a very direct adaptation of the concise description above by Singh (2002:573) of the PD):

> *International education is the pedagogic transmission (**in a manner more or less** international) and evaluation (**in a manner more or less** international) of pedagogic discourse which has been created (**in a manner more or less** international) through the recontextualization of knowledge deemed worthy of pedagogic transmission and classified and ordered in ways that reflect power relations between social groups.*

This approach can thus be seen to generate a broad classificatory framework, thus inspired by Bernstein which, will be referred to henceforth as the (Bernstein) Pedagogic Device Analytical Framework (PDAF). The PDAF has some intuitive plausibility: firstly, it is broadly international enough to resonate with a conceptualization already visualized by Gough (2003) of the 'internationalized curriculum field'; secondly, this breakdown of a more general pedagogization process would seem to be amenable to a mapping onto it of the more literally intuitive senses of 'international education' that could be seen (above) to be able to

be generated from first principles by listing combinations of agents associated with who is being educated by whom where: schools may transmit knowledge more less internationally, they may be evaluated more or less internationally and so on. Thirdly, it has some track record of plausibility as an analytic grid in as much as work has already been done (Cambridge 2010) on analysing current practices in international education by conceptualizing, and critiquing, a recognized provider of international curriculum as an agent of recontextualization.

While this expanded definition is broad enough to describe agency by agents other than the school, it also offers scope for the consideration of agency by the school itself; a space in which how any school may or may not be seen to determine for itself a more international identity by the provision of an ethos that is more international. As such it will be left for now as a general working model. The work of the rest of this dissertation will entail two significant elaborations of this basic analysis. The first elaboration will be deeper consideration of the notion of agents of recontextualization. I will argue that fuller consideration of the provision of international ethos would embrace recontextualization not only by the official agencies but also by individual schools themselves, with more or less endorsement from outside agencies. This theme will be taken up in the analysis of data in Chapters 4 and 5. The second elaboration concerns the word knowledge, which is unsatisfactorily vague. What is and what is not pedagogized and presented to students in any education system constitutes in itself a fundamental constraint on the potential of that child to fulfil their potential (academic and social). At this point *knowledge* is deliberately left in its broadest possible sense of what a young person can learn at school, i.e. not in its narrower sense of facts and figures but rather, traditional knowledge allied with skills, values and ways of acting.

Thus, to support the thesis question, (and the sub-question already clarified from the discussion of institutional habitus and school agency: how can schools be seen to act as a unitary subject rather than as a loose affiliation by proximity of individuals) the following three further sub-questions suggest themselves:

1. How can knowledge be pedagogically transmitted in a medium more or less international?
2. How can the knowledge transmitted (and evaluated) be more or less international?
3. How can knowledge be recontextualized in ways that are more or less international?

Conclusion to Chapter 2

It having been established in Chapter 1 that aspirational identity (expressible as the intention to change field position) tends to be suppressed by the forces of social reproduction, Chapter 2 firstly showed that aspiration can be stymied or furthered by the (in)ability to accrue appropriate cultural capital, and suggested that efforts may theoretically considered, for schools which aim to engender via their ethos a particular effect on the identity of their students, of operationalizing the imparting to students of cultural capital. In the particular focus in this study on ethos and identity more international, Chapter 2 argued that study of what schools do to internationalize their curricula may be considered in terms of capital, and thus as means for fostering mobility.

Secondly, in contemplation of what international identity in education might resemble, the term International Education (IE) was determined to be an inherently and multiply ambiguous term, the meaning of which is ontologically contested. It was established that, in order to avoid premature narrowing of classification and to capture IE within both realist and nominalist ontologies any study of its manifestations, and thus of a school ethos and identity that may be considered to be more international, must be framed sufficiently broadly.

Thirdly in Chapter 2, it was suggested that an appropriate framework for a broad view of IE, and thus of elements of an international ethos, would be a derivation of the Bernstein notion of the Pedagogic Device (PD), a universal account of the process of education framed in terms of how knowledge is pedagogized. From this derivation was crystallized a tripartite analytical framework, termed the Pedagogic Device Analytical Framework (PDAF), for the analysis of international ethos in schools according to: firstly, the medium in which knowledge is pedagogically transmitted; secondly, the nature of the knowledge itself, and, thirdly, the ways that knowledge is pedagogized. It was suggested that comprehensive analysis of the provision of international ethos would require recognition of the process of recontextualization being carried out not only by the official agencies but also by individual schools themselves.

Chapter 3
Conceptualizing and implementing the study

Thus far the aim of this study to describe ways that schools act to internationalize their institutional ethos has been framed firstly, in Chapter, 1 within exploration of the theoretical possibility of identity formation that is aspirationally international and secondly, in Chapter 2, within a discussion of a tension between aspiration and ways it tends in the social world to be constrained.

3.1 Crystallization of research questions

The study aims to find ways in which Primary and Secondary Schools. To address this aim, the two following research questions are determined:

1. In the pursuit of an aspirational international identity, to what extent is it possible to consider schools as displaying a collective embodiment of purpose?
2. How can identity practices in schools which internationalize (i.e. make both institutional claims to an aspirational international identity for themselves and an international ethos for their students) be classified according Bernsteinian model of the pedagogization of knowledge?

This second research question concerns the exact nature of schools' identity practices benefits from being considered in three parts. It will be recalled that the Bernstein model of the pedagogization of knowledge allowed in Chapter 2 the following working definition of international education:

> *International education is the pedagogic transmission (**in a manner more or less** international) and evaluation (**in a manner more or less** international) of pedagogic discourse which has been created (**in a manner more or less** international) through the recontextualization of knowledge deemed worthy of pedagogic transmission and classified and ordered in ways that reflect power relations between social groups.*
>
> By focussing in turn on three elements of this overarching statement, the single research question can be broken down into these three sub-questions:
>
> i. How can knowledge be pedagogically transmitted and evaluated in a manner more or less international?

ii. How can knowledge transmitted (and evaluated) be more or less international?
iii. How can knowledge transmitted be recontextualized in ways that are more or less international?

3.2 Methodology

For the empirical study of these research questions it was decided to conduct interviews with people in a range of leadership positions in schools. Data was thus collected by means of in-depth conversations with carefully targeted school leaders. Because of the distances involved between the researcher and informants, interviews were conducted by telephone or Skype The informants are either school heads or are in positions of senior responsibility for curriculum or student welfare. The leadership position while including Head of School or Head of School section (such as Head of Primary) is used in a sufficiently broad sense to include other positions that might exist in a given school such as Head of Curriculum, or Coordinator of International Programs,

More unstructured than structured, the aim of the interviews was to elicit from the interviewees what they understood the notion of international ethos to be. The rationale was that a deliberately general question allowed to possibility of the emergence of a theme or dimension to international ethos that had not been considered by the interviewer, in the Fontana & Frey (2000) sense of not "imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry". The interviews were not totally unstructured; even though not all informants were posed the same questions, there was an overall common structure. In the first place, all informants were first encouraged to talk about what heir school did to promote an ethos that is more international. However, the interviews were sufficiently unstructured to allow informants to discuss any element of an ethos of international education not brought up in the questions. The general aim was to get the interviewee to describe in as much concrete detail as possible any sub-theme of the notion of an international ethos that they felt was significant. Using elements of a dialogic style (Foley and Valenzuela 2005), questions varied from interviewee to interviewee, with the interviewer homing in on different points of interest in each interview in an attempt to canvas the broadest possible yield of data.

I presented myself to the interviewees as a peer educator, which made for a warm, professional tone to the interviews. The fact of the interviewer working in the same field as the interviews precluded problems with professional terminology. It has been

argued Gauntlett (2007:185) that "Research participants need reflective time to construct knowledge". Thus, rather than have an interview start cold with the question of how international ethos is promulgated in their school, interviewees were sent prior to the interview a clear indication of what the interview was going to be about. Interviews, which took between 30 and 45 minutes, were recorded, with interviewee consent, and transcribed.

Not all informants were posed the same interview questions, or at least not after the initial general question asking about efforts in the informant's school to promote an international ethos. Sample interview questions were as follows:

General

- What does your school do to promote an international ethos?

Themes in more specific questions, depending on answers to the general question

- There were questions to elicit elaboration;
- There were questions for clarification;
- Follow-up specialist questions, about programs, initiatives that were mentioned: to the interviewee who answered a general question in terms of an IB program, questions might be asked about specifics of the program, such as about Theory of Knowledge for the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program or about the learner profile for the IB Primary Year Program;
- There were questions about the effect of the ethos on students;
- There were questions about steps taken to guard against feeling that any (internationalizing) initiative may not apply to all students;
- There were questions to elicit comparisons with an informant's previous school(s).

3.3 Sample

The interviews were held with school leaders in 15 schools in 10 countries. Schools were chosen by three criteria: accessibility, relevance and variety. Firstly, they had to be schools about which I could gain access to data through my professional association with educators in positions of authority in those schools. Informants were located generally by personal acquaintance, but with some referrals. For example the head of one school not only consented to be interviewed themself but also argued that I should interview the school's director of international programs. The other instance of this was when I interviewed both the head of a school and that school's senior administrator with responsibility for student welfare. Secondly, the

schools needed to be relevant and interesting in terms of the stated aims of the project. Making use of the broad classification of possible manifestations of international education derived, above, from Bernstein's overarching scheme of the pedagogization of knowledge, I concentrated on schools which have some claim to internationalism by at least one of the following criteria, sufficiently broad to include both essentialist and non-essentialist identity criteria.

International students: the presence of students of distinct nationality in the same school

International teachers: the presence in a school of teachers qualified to teach in countries other than the location of the school

International programs: either curricula/programs imported from another country that made claim to serve an international clientele

International recontextualization of national programs: (as above) a process by which ordered knowledge is transformed, by a specifiable set of ***recontextualizing*** rules, into a pedagogic discourse, a form in which the knowledge is amenable to pedagogic transmission (from outside a school the most visible manifestation of this would be the teaching of a national program in a language other than the country's official language).

International evaluation of programs: not only indirect evaluation of teaching via the examination of students (as in international programs/curricula above) but also direct evaluation of programs by organizations, such as the Council of International Schools, which offer evaluation by accreditation or by curriculum providers such as International Baccalaureate that apply their own rules of evaluation as part of their cycle of program authorization

Within this locus of access to schools that appeared interesting in the sense that they make claims for, and/or take steps towards, the generation of an international identity I aimed to provide for study a variety of types. I deliberately focussed both on schools that were international by definition in essentialist terms and those that cannot be defined as international in essentialist terms but which aspire to an international identity that is socially construed. The final list of schools is fifteen institutions, located in ten countries. There is a mix of schools that are nominally international and schools that are not.

3.4 Anonymity and naming of the schools for analysis

For ethical reasons it was decided to anonymize the schools that took part in the study. Some informants may feel reluctant to speak freely without school anonymity, to the point even that the concern was expressed by two informants that even the name of the country in which their schools were situated might be enough in conjunction with clues furnished in the interview data would be enough for a reader so inclined to deduce the identity of the school. This seems reasonable in the case of say a small country with a very small number of international schools; if there is only one international school in Ruritania, then clearly a coy generalization such as "an international school in Ruritania" will be completely transparent. Within a national system too schools may be more or less prominent. Furthermore, it can be argued that the whole point of the study is to identify identity-forming actions that are distinctive. The more distinctive a practice is, the more it may be liable to lead to albeit unwitting identity disclosure. Thirdly, in the case of informants from national schools with international aspirations, significant passages of discussion allude to the distinction between learning English as an international language and using the students' first language. Naturally, the name of a first language can also be seen to be tantamount to naming a country. Thus for the study, first languages have also been anonymized. Accordingly, were there to be discussion in an interview of say the language of X, it would be represented in this study as "Xish"; similarly "Xian" would refer to the related ethnic group, deliberately left indeterminate. In a similar spirit of preserving school anonymity, it was decided that discussion of informants would be written in a manner that is gender-indeterminate; to achieve this, all personal pronouns and personal adjectives are rendered as 'they', 'them' or 'their'. Similarly, as a matter of course, all references to students have been rendered gender non-specific.

The names of the schools from which data was collected will be taken for the purposes of this study to be as follows. Mindful of the need, expounded in Chapter 1, to preclude, premature and facile classification of internationalness in terms that are essentialist, there will be anonymization not only of school names but also of school type. It is argued that by referring to each school in a type-neutral manner a significant major resultant affordance is that it will be possible to keep discussion of international identity practices as broad and as inclusive as possible. Each school is identified by location by four according to four broad geographical regions: North America, Europe, Asia and what I have termed to be "Middle East", taken, rather arbitrarily, to include the Mediterranean states in Africa, Iran and Turkey. To

differentiate between schools of the same type in the same general location, there is recourse to numbers. Thus the second school to appear in the study from South America, had there been such, would have been tagged as South America 2, and abbreviated in the body of the text as Sam2. It is worth pointing out that in many ways the geographical location of the schools is not relevant at all. This system of school naming has been developed with the primary purpose of helping the Reader to keep the school names in mind, which it is hoped will facilitate the reading of the Results.

The full list is

Asia 1	(Abbreviated as **Asia1**)
Asia 2	(**Asia2**)
Europe 1	(***Euro1***)
Europe 2	(***Euro2***)
Middle East 1	(***ME1***)
Middle East 2	(***ME2***)
Middle East 3	(***ME3***)
Middle East 4	(***ME4***)
Middle East 5	(***ME5***)
Middle East 6	(***ME6***)
Middle East 7	(***ME7***)
Middle East 8	(***ME8***)
North America 1	(**NAm1**)
North America 2	(**NAm2**)
North America 3	(**NAm3**)

3.5 Data analysis

The first part of the data analysis (to be treated in Chapter 4 Part A) looked at the first research into the nature of school agency manifested in the construal of institutional (international) identity. This analysis of school agency - framed by the aim to explain aspirational identity of the school itself, not the individuals in it - was conducted under these two sub-elements:

1. Collective intent – to find ways that informants revealed schools to be acting to construe an international identity as a school, doing identity work (in the pursuit of an aspirational international identity) with a collective embodiment of purpose rather than as a loose aggregation of individual subjects;

2. Independence in school agency - to find ways that informants revealed school agency to be constrained by external structures (such as national education authority regulation or the rules of implementation and evaluation of international programs).

The second part of the analysis (to be treated in Chapter 5) focussed on the nature of the various international elements and measures mobilized in international identity construal; this analysis derived from the system of classification of international identity strategies posited in Chapter 1 by means of the Bernsteinian framework. From this framework it will be recalled that three research sub-questions were identified as follows:

1. How can the medium in which knowledge is pedagogically transmitted and evaluated be in a manner more or less international?
2. How can the knowledge transmitted be more or less international?
3. How can knowledge transmitted be recontextualized in ways that are more or less international?

These divisions, Parts A & B, allowed for systematic coding and presentation of the data. Presentation now of the results of both parts of the analysis – the how and the what - in Chapter 4, will prepare the ground for discussion in Chapter 5 of an emergent typology of broad descriptions of construals of school international identity.

Chapter 4

Results for Research Question 1

Schools acting as institutions to develop an aspirational identity

4.0 (in aspirational international identity) School agency

The first part of the data analysis looks at the first research question of how the institution displayed agency towards construal of an institutional identity. The analysis of this data was framed by the definition of aspirational identity discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 of the school itself, not the individuals in it. In other words, to what extent is there evidence of schools doing identity work (in the pursuit of an aspirational international identity) with a collective embodiment of purpose?

Evidence was sought under these two sub-elements:

1. Intent to act collectively – evidence was sought of ways that schools could be seen to be acting to construe an (international) identity by means of an embodiment of purpose that is collective;
2. (In)dependence in school agency - evidence was sought of ways that the school could be seen when doing identity work to be go it alone as opposed to allowing their identity to be more or less fashioned by pre-existing external structures (such as national education authorities or the rules of implementation and evaluation of international programs)

4.1. Collective embodiment of purpose

In the data from this study, the idea of a collective embodiment is clearly observable in the first place in the way a number of informants discuss decisions and initiatives taken by the school which seem to emanate directly from the Head (itself an apt metaphor of course for the embodiment of institutional decision making). Thus, there was observed frequent use of the pronoun 'I':

> *I try to bring in more native English speakers to the school*

And:

> *I just knew that we had to create a culture of speaking English*

(Both from (**ME2**)

There was also use of the other, plural and therefore more inclusive, first person pronoun, 'we', which still, of course, gives the sense of a single entity, but removes the perception of a one-administrator-show:

> *We push them all the time to be active learners, critical thinkers to ask questions*

The informant NAm3, whether school head or not, certainly speaks here in such a way as to imply that there is a shared purpose – no suggestion that some teachers or administrators may be doing their own thing.

Here too there is evidence of a shared purpose, but to describe it, the informant **ME7** moves between the two first-person pronouns, 'I' and 'we'.

> *when I arrived, with these mundane reading of announcements and the national anthem, I said my god we've got to be able to do this better*

This is an interesting example in that it shows clearly something that the Head has single-handedly identified as being in need of improvement but recognizes that the solution will take more than just one person's efforts, or edict.

In the following example, (where the Head is relating the development of a foreign language immersion program) a sense of a school (again **NAm3**)) manifesting a collective identity was evident in more than the choice of personal pronoun:

> *and I had this great idea to do this). This is funny it's one of the few times I've gotten into trouble as head of school. I had this idea and I went ahead home all these associates (I had the money for it) and spoke with the teachers, did planning and laid all the ground work but I never really told the board that I was going ahead with this. So at one board meeting one of the trustees said I hear that we doing this but it would've been nice to have a heads up. They've been very supportive financially very supportive but I kind of got ahead of myself*

Here there is a noticeable sense that this school has the ability to make progress as a single entity without being beset by internal fractiousness. After the Head has come up with the idea, the degree of consultation with the teachers is not explicit, but the implication is that it was at least at a minimum level of expectation of professional courtesy (in that the Head did not get into trouble with the teachers but with the Board only), This episode suggests on the part of the Head efficacy and confidence in getting the teaching staff behind them to implement a major initiative. The episode here may be contrasted with the next one, where a telling comment by an informant **ME6** imparts a perception of another leader of the same school (one of this head's predecessors) being the driving force for the school, possibly in spite of the rest of the school:

BX a director of some reputation in the 1990s really dragged it kicking and screaming into regional awareness"

The implication is clear that the school with whatever executive model was in place before the arrival of this head did not display the collective embodiment of purpose required to move from a more to a less parochial outlook.

However there was also plenty of evidence that a school can act a single entity, rather than as a loose collection of individual teachers, without a head needing to be quite as autocratic as that. Several informants talked about the importance of mission statement, to preclude disunity and to ensure continuity, the importance of an agreed, clear mission. Returning to the informant from School **NAm3**, who described the previous incarnation of the school statement of philosophy as ineffective in that it offered no scope for any aspiration, international or not, and then attempts to improve it:

a statement of philosophy and that was very purposeful on their part. It was 500 words long and lacked clarity and focus. So when I came on board the school needed to gain some clarity and focus. And we really committed ourselves to examining what we were doing and how we were doing it and could we come up with a mission that would affirm our practices and also offer some aspiration

This is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly that not every intent, however purposeful per se, succeeds in being translated into an effective statement of school corporate intent. Secondly, however, this particular expression seems to have been arrived at by meaningful collaboration: the 'we' demonstrate pluralism, and the word 'committed' suggests that the process of coming up with a jointly agreed expression of mission was something more than a cursory one. Thirdly, there is a clear link between collective embodiment of intent as expressed by the mission statement (as well as by the collective manner in which it was produced) and the notion of institutional aspiration – that an effective statement of mission can encourage people in an institution, presumably here the students of the school, to aspire. More concentrated than a longer statement of mission, was one school's communal agreement on a distillation of a mantra that although being just four words in length, was sufficiently crystallized to be a constant spur to communal development of a particular internationally-minded ethos:

"We want to grow 'critical ethical global thinkers'

In this way, the presence of a mission statement in a school displays not only a degree of corporate purpose, but is also a statement of the identity that a school which has one construes for itself.

However, this advanced degree of collective aspiration and endeavour was not on display at every school. In testimony from the following informant, it is seen that distal and temporal constraints encroach from the real world to make the job of decision making for this Head and the School Board not only difficult, but also rather haphazard and risky. There is a distinct sense that not only does the Head *(ME7)* feel frustrated that things do not always go her way, but also that, because of the contingencies of Trustees Meetings, she feels resentful that not everybody involved invests as much into the decision making process as she does, and may even hamper it with regard to new projects:

> *the local trustees the ones on the ground here work amazing amounts - legal issues fund raising issues meeting with important people dignitaries they are on constant call and they do a massive amount of work they do the leg work frankly and the problem is that they are disconnected for much of the time from the executive committee, which rarely communicates and which has to be constantly informed about what is going on here and that does not bode well when they have to show up every three months and make the final decision and you know some of them have very tangential connections to the school they love the school they give money to the school but on a month by month basis I'm not sure that they really invest that much in the school so there is always a tension when they get together between those who think they are in the know and have done more of the work and perhaps a greater right to vote when it comes to decide on something sometimes you look around the room and you see people putting up their hands and you think about half of them: "but they probably didn't know anything about this 20 minutes ago!". Why is my vote only as important as your vote? I don't know how that can be changed.*

However, the same Head explicitly acknowledged that below the level of the Trustees/Head relationship there existed in the school a sense of school purpose that is very strong. The examples in this quote are clearly relevant to the school's desire to inculcate international-mindedness in this articulation of the ethos of their school, of which a key element is the identity of the school's student body, past and present. This is expressed in terms of not only the high level of engagement of its students and responsibility undertaken, but also, the pride that students take in their activities, both as participant and as initiator.

> "I think the traditions here are fairly strong and well rooted, and I am not in disagreement with them, but there is also in the school ethos a tradition of student initiative. *Many of our alumni will say that the most important thing that they did in their days at the school was "I started the European Parliament club" or " I was head of MUN" because the tradition here is that the teachers traditionally typically steps back literally to the sidelines and let students guide them it really is remarkable it happens all the way through to community service trips they design where we going decide what we're going to do in that village who we are going to help what activities we are going to even down to purchasing the plane ticket sometimes. So it has happened that on community trips I have handed my passport over to a 15-*

year-old got onto a bus that they have organised (and at) the other end got on a bus stayed in a place they had arranged and been taken to a restaurant they had arranged. The tradition is a remarkable one and one that I wouldn't change for a second."

This expression of the identity felt by past students and of a tradition suggests that part of the job of developing identity practices in any school is the identification of traditions to be upheld as opposed to those that can be usefully changed. The same Head goes to say:

everybody said but we've got to have (a certain) ceremony so I said fine then we need to do more because this is just rote mundane horrible and now like ceremonies are busting at the seams because everybody wants to get on the stage your show a film do a skit or something far more dynamic and are quite fun. So now instead of just trudging in the kids come early to see what is being shown for that one example of a tradition that they has been changed to create a far greater sense of community and engagement.

4.2 (In)dependence in school agency

In the data there was significant variety in the extent to which schools with regard to self-construal of international identity, chose, or were able to, go it alone, rather than be scaffolded or hampered by external authorities. Some schools talked about identity construal independently of any affiliation with international organizations, others made reference to the significance of international organizations in their identity construals, while others seemed to suggest that affiliation with international organizations was vital to their identity. There was also mention of competing edicts from national versus international curricular authorities.

4.2.1 More independent identity setting

A number of informants described the construing of school identity, more or less internationally, by means of the conscious setting or building of school ethos, without reference to any external structures. One theme to emerge was how some schools seem to be in a position of determining their identity so independently as to seem to be almost from first principles. A number of informants described, with particular reference to internationalism, doing identity at a deep level of existential significance. The informant at School **ME6** bemoaned the absence of institutional identity:

What is really lacking is a coherent institutional identity and that is partly what needs to come here – whatever form it takes

Describing how within their school, following a certain transition, there was explicit discussion of an international element of the school identity that was to be resolved, amid some contention:

> *".... desire to remain connected to that identity and it is only in the last 3-5 years that it has been up for grabs"*

This is also interesting in that it suggests that just because that school's identity is currently perceived as negotiable, it does not mean that it always was, or will be. The same informant observed that what can at one time be perceived, within a school identity, as fundamental and immutable, even to the extent of such a fixed element appearing in the school name (thereby implying a legally-based, constitutionally approved essentialist reality), can, in time find itself in need of renegotiation. Interestingly, it is pointed out by the same head that when renegotiation of the school identity does happen, it will need to acknowledge that the school is now outstripping the needs of a particular constituency, and has transcended its original constitution:

> *"figuring out what American" means in the X American School" now that less than 25% of the enrolment is American"*

This existentialist hesitation is to be contrasted with the baldness in the paradoxical assertion made by head **ME7**, who does not admit to any doubt, either as to what the school is or should be considered as being:

> "*We are considered an Xish school even though we teach Yian students.*

Certainly, this quote seems centrally important to the current thesis that there is much more to school identity than facile rehearsals of descriptions at the level of the essentialist.

Another theme to emerge was the role in more independent ethos setting played by the fact of a school being a boarding school. For example, this informant (NAm1) describes how a boarding school ethos has an effect on not only the students who board but also on the non-boarders:

> *The boarding population sets the tone of the school in that we are a residential learning community so even our day students are expected to take part in the activities that run through the day and into the evening and likewise about 80% of the faculty live on campus and so we both live and work together.*

This theme of residential learning community which can foster an ethos that is distinct (in this case more international) manifested itself in data on school activities offered by a number of informants. This head (**ME8**) talked about the centrality of clubs, for this school's identity and ethos that has been consciously nurtured by the school, showing independence in that the school has surpassed the minimum mandated requirements and produced a spirited element of school life that is, for its context, not mundane.

> *"All our students had to do a club activity that is mandatory on Wednesday afternoons and most of them do not even think of it as mandatory they consider to be the best two hours of the week. Because there is just such great latitude to all the things they can get involved in. So it is tough for a student here to sit back and say, "You know there's nothing I'm interested in". We offer across the whole gamut. ..... 66% of our kids do two or more clubs per week so it is a very high level of engagement but yes I think there are always a couple of students to sit back but now that we have our advisors system and it is in its second year the advisors can push them in the right direction."*

Clearly the more that a school is residential, or enacts further organized activity outside the regular class hours, the more it can be said to have what has been referred to as an ethos of a total institution, a term used since Goffman (1961) in connection with boarding schools, military establishments and prisons, to describe social arrangements which are more enclosed and where boundaries between sleeping, eating, working and playing can become less distinct.

There were fainter echoes of this notion of a more total ethos in the testimony of one informant (**NAm3**), who talked about steps taken during international trips to cut communication between students and their families in order to avoid distraction, and thereby have them gain more from their international experience.

> *One thing that I think helps very much to counter homesickness is that we confiscate all telephones & other electronic devices. We make sure other parents get communication by having two students maintain every day a blog for the parents can see pictures and hear stories and know that everyone is safe and having a good time but it cuts student off from the rhythm of daily life back home. I don't know what's happening with their parents their friends their pet dog …., which in my experience is really the kind of thing that can exacerbate homesickness. …. so we have maybe now taken seven groups over the years to either East Africa or India and I have never had a serious case of homesickness or other sort of difficulty with a student or group of students*

Another school leader talked about their school's policy of "throwing students in the deep end" and "out of their comfort zone" during the first year that are in the school, when all new students have to take a year-long preparatory program in English language that will prepare them for the rest of their time in the school when they will be taught other subjects in the medium of English. The same head, to describe a process applied by the school to these new students to have them unlearn previously acquired but ineffective skills, used the word 'deprogramming', again a word very suggestive of a strong ethos. Similarly, examples were seen in this description of international programs (run by School **Am3**), who talked about 'subverting expectations', challenging assumptions', and stretching and pushing students towards possible new self-construals as follows:

Because we spend a lot of time making thoughtful and very conscious decision about the difference between comfort zone stretch zone and then sort of danger zone … we monitor individual student thresholds and adjust accordingly.

The head of school **ME6**, again without reference to external education frameworks or organizations, also saw the identity of their students as framable in terms of what students can be encouraged to do in a school ethos that transcends a more traditional circumscription of the school day, describing a service program that would at the same time be an eminently recognizable element of the identity of the school itself.

"I would say that in many ways one thing that makes our school identity is the unique context that we find ourselves in. The service opportunities in a place like here are unfortunately astonishing. Remarkably high levels of poverty and illiteracy it's a country where there are many opportunities for us to collaborate with the host country ministry of education on teacher training on the development on the offering of resources what schools and students. It is something I don't think we do well enough but it is a great opportunity it has got one of the largest Peace Corps deployments in the world and has had for many years. We can definitely use those things to build I think a world class service program."

Another informant, the head of curriculum in a school (**NAm1**) talked about freedom from external curricular edicts

While we have NYSAIS that approve us and we pay attention to meeting the standards we are not constrained in terms of setting programs in that way so the head has a fair amount of flexibility in changing direction. If one looks at the history of the school over the last 150 years there have been various sort of curriculum revolutions not just evolutions and they were mostly driven by the head and so at one point the head had determined we would be a program with a strong traditional core highly integrated you may call it a collective western civilization) course and we went from that to almost the opposite: an elective program with no real set of requirements...

The same informant went on, in an internationally comparative manner, to talk about the need for schools to be strong enough to set their own ethos, relying neither on facile classification of students nor on the school's past performance to set a stronger course for the present and future. The particular facet of ethos under discussion was a conscious attempt by the school to reduce gender bias in student subject choice in science and mathematics.

"I'm still trying to change minds and form an ethos where girls believe that all students can perform at a high level in maths. And I have visited a lot of very strong independent schools. When I was (visiting) at the ME1 School, I saw that all students were expected to do a high level of maths that everybody was expected to get to calculus so that was really baked into the ethos (..) but here we still have a sense of sorting out the clever from the dull. And I still think that in some areas particularly maths and science we are so used to the notion that only some students can. So when I came to the school in this advanced physics class that I teach there were only eight girls,

out of a graduating class of 85. Next year will have close to 40. And the students haven't changed so how do we go from 8 to 40? It's just a different mindset they actually can do this work."

4.2.2 Less independent

One common theme in the data was the idea of schools obtaining help in defining their identity (not just international) by using international agencies as a scaffold. A number of informants referred to making use of IB programmes expressly for the purpose of strengthening identity and thus ethos. One description (from EUR2) seemed to be suggesting that even with not much else written down offering IB programs was almost a sufficient condition for institutional identity,

> *"Everything was unscripted but we had the unifying identity of being a 3-program IB school." Frankly that (being a 3-program IB school) did more for the school than what we've got here.*

Another informant (**Eur1**) described "*using the philosophy of the International Baccalaureate (and) the philosophy of the IB Learner Profile, (...) to embed a deeper understanding of what internationalism really is."*

One Head (ME2) talked about using the IB as a source of identity strength in a particular division, whether or not the program is being implemented as that division:

> "*We have an international element in the primary school we just don't have the international program. And I mean we are using the IB learner profile throughout the school*

One informant talked about how the role of international programs and accreditation helped a school (ME3) to transcend its legal definition as a national school and take on an identity that was more international:

> *"I think that particular national school did a tremendous amount to break out of its composition and particular situation*"
>
> "… *without a doubt they were certainly able to get further and do more than they could have done if they had simply you know not taken those plunges. The programs helped the staffing helped the accreditation helped. They introduced something into the consciousness of practitioners that would not have been there before without a doubt I think those things are important steps.*

And, in this case the informant (**Asia1**) talked about an effect of scaffolding emanating from IB programs with regard to their Middle school (where there is no IB program):

> "*The ethos of an IB school I think there are a number of ingredients of that ethos that I think we represent. There is also because a number of teachers*

have worked in the diploma program and there is the PYP as well so I think there is familiarity with the values which run across the three IB programs"

On a more cautionary note, the same Head, urges critical that appraisal of the effect of such international programs on the strengthening of school identity should be undertaken by the (adopting) schools themselves. Specifically, this Head took pains to point out a danger they perceived in being lulled by glib use of the parlance of an international agency thereby over-estimating educational effectiveness:

but IB authorization to a certain degree has a negative influence on the school as well because there are a number of teachers who are poor teachers (including one in a senior teacher position) but they act as if they are full supporters of the IB they are even blogging and tweeting as if they are PYP gurus but somehow using that language in an almost sectarian or religious way kind of distracts and takes attention away from looking at whether or not the quality of teaching is good.

4.2.3 Tensions and advantages for schools seeking scaffolding from international programs.

Any school in a national context that sets itself up as more international will find that their self-construals of identity may clash with the construal of identity projected onto them by their national authority. Of course, for any national school offering a more international ethos, a constant obstacle will be juggling required between the two separate sets of requirements, which commonly results in students, and teachers, having to do more stuff, as explained by this head (**Asia1**) faced with recent national ministry decisions that will impact the school:

Because we're not yet in the implementation stage- that will start in August - for the curriculum changes but yes there will be changes. Because if you just look at the actual load the lesson load on students because they will now have to have civics they will have to participate in national exams and they will have to do religious studies. Now we do not want to compromise by cutting back from our own program especially the IB diploma - it will have to be done on top of that so our school may become less popular if it becomes too much

Another head, of a school, in a country where the government has recently begun to interest itself more with the working of schools that have set themselves up as more international than national schools, points out the drawback of a school having international programs while obliged to submit to regulation and evaluation that is itself national.

I understand this message that the government is sending because there were lots of schools the call themselves international and there were those schools that called themselves "national plus", they're kind of between national and international and they all advertised (themselves as international schools) but there was no system to control the quality. So it is all very well to say that the government should want more control over those schools but they should acknowledge that accreditation by international

organisations should be sufficient to have control and that would weed out all those pseudo-international schools that operate completely without accountability

Furthermore, the international ethos promulgated as a more international self-construal of identity may be seen to be hindered, or diluted, by the presence of a national ethos, as explained by this Head describing experience of working in a national school with ambitious international aspirations (**ME3**).

> *"the other problem that particular school had in my experience was that most of the time all the messages that were being sent to them by their own national ministry, by the (national program structures and by the other teachers pulled them away from what they were trying to do within the program*."

However, this clash of construal is not seen as completely negative. One informant (**ME1**) talked in detail about ways in which the presence of the IB diploma program in a country may have an impact on the home country education system by a kind of mutual enrichment.

> *".... in the practices of IB schools… the IB program itself can become a repository of good practices which can be employed outside the IB programs. (..) I think the way to go is what one national school has done recently they have made the IB the only available program in the high school. Now what I mean is that every student in the school has to do the IB Diploma program; whether this means in fact that a student does the IB Diploma (*by sitting the external exams – author's note*) is another question. If they do not want to do the diploma that is okay but they still have to contend with…, the menu in front of them is still formed by the IB program (..) what they are saying is why have a separation between the two? What they are trying to achieve is what I referred to earlier – tenets of practice. So you have one language policy you have one assessment policy you have one approach to teaching and learning. And you apply them throughout the school irrespective of whether I particular student is aiming for the IB diploma or not. Why make the distinction after all we're talking about adopting best practices. But best practice does not belong to the IB it is just best practice... so applied elsewhere... for example CAS… there is no reason why IB Community, Action and Service or IB Theory of Knowledge should be solely the concern of IB if you can make space and time for it, it should be adopted throughout.*

This informant thus argues for an approach to both curriculum and practice that can be termed transnational. Particular practices and curriculum areas which may have started life within national programs, or which may have been associated with particular international programs, and which may have been originally imported into national contexts from programs that have been known as 'international' have started to be perceived as desirable in a way that transcends their provenance.

To conclude Chapter 4, there was sufficient data in the study to suggest that in some schools at least there is room for sufficient corporate purpose to be able to

question previous, and to aspire to future school identities. This corporate purpose manifested itself in Section 4.1.1 in strong individual leadership, effective consultative leadership, in the nurturing and pruning of school tradition, and the crystallization of agreed mission statements. In 4.1.2 it was established that significant in the identity practices of some schools is the pragmatics of needing to accommodate identity elements of differing provenances. More detailed examination of the sometimes contradictory interaction between programs from different places, and between education systems will take place in Chapter 5, where is a survey of which elements of international education precisely schools use their more or less independent collective embodiment of purpose to choose to incorporate into their identity and thus ethos.

Chapter 5

Results for Research Question 2

Actions taken by schools to internationalize their ethos and thereby internationalize the identity of their students

The second part of the data analysis now builds on the description of how schools work on international identity intention to deliver through their educational programs concrete instances of practice. To focus on the nature of the international identity construed by schools use will be made of the system of classification of international identity strategies posited in Chapter 1 by means of the Bernsteinian framework. From this framework it will be recalled that three research sub-questions were identified as follows:

1. How can the medium in which knowledge is pedagogically transmitted and evaluated be in a manner more or less international?
2. How can the knowledge transmitted be more or less international?
3. How can knowledge transmitted be recontextualized in ways that are more or less international?

In Chapter 2 it was established that school identity practices could be classified according to certain elements of international education. This leads, in this chapter, to a detailed survey of the collected data, to classify it according to the PDAF, derived from Bernstein's notion of the Pedagogization of Knowledge, as international endeavour, in terms of elements of knowledge, its transmission and its recontextualization.

Through the theoretical discussion above, it has been established that schools may do more or less to aspire to an international element to their identity. An aspirational identity has been defined, for a school, as the will to construe, in the face of subjective, self-limiting impulses, and the will to pursue, in the face of objective constraints, an identity that transcends the one ascribed by the subject's context, and an ethos by which schools will strive to mould the identities of their students. The aim of the empirical study is to measure the extent that some schools can be said to construe and pursue for school and students an identity that is aspirationally international. The analysed data from the empirical study is laid out here, in terms of the analytic framework that was developed in Chapter 2 from Bernstein's notion of the Pedagogization of Knowledge. The chapter will be organized in three parts, from the Bernsteinian framework, as follows:

5.1 The medium of transmission

5.2 The knowledge transmitted (and evaluated)

5.3 The recontextualization of the knowledge transmitted

Within this classifying device, there will be analysis of the extent to which these various factors, some of which seem to be objective, and thus immutable, may be amenable to incorporation into a view of identity that is more subjectively aspirational, and if they do, whether or not they seem to have effects that are perceived as real.

5.1 Medium of transmission

This section will treat data pertaining to the degree that the medium of transmission is and aspired to be international. There will be analysis of the degree to which the identity of a school can be said to be international in terms of heterogeneity of nationality of students and teachers, and the language of interaction. The section will thus be divided into three parts as follows:

5.1.1 Heterogeneity of nationality of student body

5.1.2 Heterogeneity of nationality of teachers

5.1.3 Language of interaction.

It will be seen that even though all three of these, at first blush, appear to be prior, immutable objective factors, schools have both more and less room for manoeuvre than would be expected from a purely objective view.

5.1.1 Heterogeneity of nationality of student body

Part of the medium of transmission of knowledge in a school is the nationality of the school student body. A more heterogeneous nationality composition in a given school may be generally considered desirable: for one thing, it speaks directly to a common-sense notion of what an international ethos should be; for another, the greater the heterogeneity, the greater the likelihood of English being used spontaneously as the school language. The schools in the study varied widely in the make-up of their student body. At one end of the spectrum were schools where the nationality of all the students was identical and matched the country in which the school is based. At the other end were schools that could claim to great heterogeneity of student nationality.

Despite the desirability of heterogeneous student body, Schools seem generally less able to determine the international make-up of their students: even schools that are not bound by national catchment areas are liable to various factors that leave them less able to determine the nature of their intake than may be imagined;

schools that take in a mixture of national and international students are prey to both pragmatic considerations and market perceptions of how international, in terms of student nationality, they should be

Schools exhibited less agency over the nationality of their students than might be thought even for independent 'international' schools. It became clear from interviews that schools are subject to prevailing conditions in their locality. Even though a school may be defined as international in the purely essentialist terms of the mix of nationality of their students, the degree to which it ends up being international is contingent on the realities of its context. One school (**ME6**) explained that 90% of their international students are children of diplomatic personnel, with a disproportionate number of diplomats' children finding themselves in that particular city, despite the fact that as a diplomatic posting the city is not seen as particularly prestigious:

> *"We are not considered a first stop on the mission hierarchy but (in this region…) for families with children it is one of the only places they can go with kids in tow."*

In another school (**Eur1**) which suggested that rather than being able to form their own composition in terms of nationality makeup among students, compositional identity was thrust upon them, the informant explained that the school had a large proportion of children of (Indian) IT experts because of the proximity of a local manufacturer that imported their expertise. Another example of identity forming less by agency and more by the happenstance of real world contingencies was the presence of a sizeable population of children of Japanese nationality because of the nearby presence of a Japanese manufacturing plant. Still in the economic vein, a school talked about the prevalence of students of national group X, whose parents currently were 'able to write cheques' – clearly this is contingent on current economic circumstances, with scope in the future for "Nationality X" to be overtaken by "Nationality Y".

For schools which accept international students who are supported by an external funding agency, in addition to the normal contingencies of supply and demand there is the additional dimension of being presented with students chosen by another institution. For example in this school (**NAm1**):

> *So probably right now we have 4/5 students from Africa, maybe from 5 to 8 from European countries and it's interesting we've been getting five or six students from former Soviet Union countries -I have an advisee who's from Kazakhstan. And we get some who are being supported by outside funding agencies some students from … we have a student from Afghanistan and a few students like that.*

One school (**Asia1**) remarked on the effect of family ties with and aspirations for future study both in the US and in the two English-speaking countries closest to the school.

> *Yes. And also many of our local parents have roots abroad. So many of them have lived in the States, in Singapore and in Australia and that is where they want their children to go to university*

Having thus argued that the above examples show where a school has less control over its student nationality composition, I now turn to examples of where schools by various mechanisms seem more able to be agentive. Although it seems that this is not necessarily a common method, some schools make a point of offering scholarship aid to international students. As this informant (**Nam1**) put it:

> *"We are one of the few independent schools that offer financial aid to students from outside the country. Frankly, for a lot of independent schools in this country international students are a source of capital. They often look to the students as being someone who can write the tuition checks. And our school felt that we should also make aid available to such students as well."*

An informant from another school (**Asia1**) explained how the balance between local and international students could be manipulated by the school, in order to keep the total number of students at its optimum level, i.e. by enrolling more students to fill places even if it meant revising the school's stated regulation governing the percentage balance between the two groups.

> *.. when I arrived there was an article in the board regulations which said that not more than 25% of the school population could be home-country nationals, but that was then determined to be 25% of the school capacity not its actual population - so that could actually be 50% if the school was only half full. Because the population was declining we had a discussion about that the first year I was here and in the end we changed it completely deciding to delete it, so any percentage of home-country nationals is welcome.*

Descriptions of the mix of nationality of students may be seen to hinge on the definition of nationality. There is clearly a parallel between on the one hand so-called international schools where students may speak a variety of languages at home because they hold different passports from each other, and on the other, schools that are constitutionally national but where students, even though they all hold, say a UK passport, may speak a variety of languages at home because the diversity of their ethnic background. One informant touched on this theme to highlight an interesting counterpoint, whereby being in a country where nationality is officially monolithic, the school, although organizing a plethora of international trips for its students to gain exposure to other nationalities, does not address the multi-ethnicity in the school itself. :

***(Informant** :) Another big issue is of course ethnicity. All students are national citizens but they have different ethnicities so that's also…. but we have to do it very, very slowly.*

***(Interviewer** :) yes alright I see well then presumably statistically speaking every year in your school you could / will have students from minority groups*

***(Informant** :) yes although all the students are national citizens and we have a handful of students whose mother tongue is Xish (the language of the country's second most populous ethnic group). But that is something which is never talked about it is never celebrated - it is kind of brushed under the carpet something which we need to change.*

This seems to be evidence that in this regard by more or less recognizing and celebrating such ethnic diversity schools may more or less internationalize their ethos, something that this informant acknowledges. This can be contrasted with the case of School **ME2** – two main ethnic groups recognized in the school – all school documentation and letters to parents appear in both languages.

In this direction, another school (**MAm3**) explained the elaborate, longitudinal schemes and support networks it had in place to increase multiculturalism among its student entry. It works with feeder, preparatory programs that identify and prepare aspiring students of modest socio-economic backgrounds to enter the school on scholarships.

> *Regardless of one's background or socio-economic status we hope that we have a somewhat level playing field and that ambition and aspiration is available to all. And so the shorthand is that we want our school to reflect the city we inhabit. We want our school to look like the city we inhabit, a very diverse place - many languages spoken, different economic levels. We actually encourage that there are four programs including financial aid we work with several established programs that identify underserved kids prepare them for a school like ours. Place them in a school like ours*

In doing this, of course, a school would seem to challenge the prior, seemingly immutable, objective factors that determine their degree of international identity in essentialist terms and, by defining internationalism in way that was less about passports and more about ethnicity and multilingualism (and even about classism).

The effect of current heterogeneity of student population on the provenance of incoming students

The positive effects perceived by informants in this study of the presence of a more international mix of students can be classified as economic, in one case, and educational. On the economic side, one head, of a school (**Asia1**) that is keen to attract a balance of national and international students, explained that the presence of more international students made the school more attractive to local parents:

> *Other Asian students will find a school more attractive if there are more western students in the school. …I think there is generally a perception amongst the Asian community that things which come from the West are good I mean amongst some of our target group*

On the educational side, one informant (**NAm1**) talked about benefits perceived by school administrators in having a more diverse student body, in terms of benefits to students themselves, particularly perhaps to students native to the country where the school is located.

> *I certainly believe that the school realises that if it wants to provide an appropriate education for our students… (in some ways) they argue that for the Caucasian student from our state to go to the school where she gets to meet and live with students from around the world that's a huge part of her education…*

The benefit of even a relatively small percentage of heterogeneity of student nationality was clearly highlighted by this informant (**ME8**), who described the advantage of having a school environment that was naturally multicultural.

> I*t also depends on the nationality of the majority of the students. I currently work at a school which is not an IB school but which has nearly 20% of the student population from other nationalities and this enriches the culture of the school. This makes the school have an environment which is more culturally aware because it happens naturally. In my previous school even though the teachers spent so many hours planning intercultural events they were just* ***events****. But this needs to be embedded into school life into the school atmosphere*

To conclude this sub-section, schools in the study were generally enthusiastic about accepting a wider range of student nationality, but fee-paying schools that have a choice over the student nationality balance may be pragmatic and admit their perceived optimum number rather than perceived optimum level of diversity. Schools with students of diverse ethnic background, but not necessarily diverse nationality acknowledge and celebrate such diversity to varying degrees.

Surrogate heterogeneity and temporary measures for the enrichment of student heterogeneity

Nearly all the informants spontaneously raised the notion of activities and programs which involve international movement of students: exchange programs, interschool sports competition, theatre association trips, and conferences and so on. For the purpose for this analysis, I determine some of these to be undertaken with the aim of meeting specific curriculum goals and leave them for now, to be treated in the next section, which addresses curricular offerings. I argue, on the other hand, to conclude the current section, that visits to another country by students on a sports team, or on an exchange program where curriculum aims are either unstated or diffuse, can be equally well considered to be mechanisms for exposing (a limited number of) students to more heterogeneity of nationality among the students and teachers that they have the opportunity to interact with.

The following (from **NAm3**) is a clear example of exchange programs being held up as international activity with no explanation, other than in the most general terms, of how the exchange visits would or could be integrated into curriculum work.

> *And increasingly a recent development for us has been to increase the number of exchange programs that we run. So we went from five years ago virtually none to this year we have eight or nine students who will spend a semester in Australia South Africa Germany to this we can add 4 more students who will go to Argentina this summer. So we keep trying to expand the scope of where… and then we have some shorter exchange programs: we've had a group of students come back from Peru and another group will be going to Colombia. And we have had a number of students who come to us for year or two almost in the manner of an exchange, principally for students from Latin American countries. So we are learning how to expand in that way as well and make students become aware of the importance of travel and learning about other parts of the world. They stay with families and they go to school and oftentimes families will show them around places of cultural interest in (the destination city) and then we reciprocate*

There were numerous other examples of visits and trips that appear to attest to the idea that schools find them valuable, despite the absence of curricular aims: different sports teams going to different countries, and visits of any extremely general cultural interest, partly because of, according to one informant (**ME7**), the importance of the students meeting (and staying with) host school families, to be introduced to the other culture.

To sum up, the schools studied were generally seen to greatly value heterogeneity of student and teacher nationality, with many going to great lengths to procure them. The particular value of diversity of teacher nationality stressed in this section has been that which allows for the possibility of communication between teachers and students, and between teachers and teachers, where the intercultural interaction is not seen as contrived, and where there is a real reason for insisting that students speak in a language other than the national language. Where this is less possible schools have been seen to take steps to provide alternative opportunities for students to interact more naturally in an international context outside the classroom.

5.1.2 Heterogeneity of nationality of teachers

The second element of the first level of the Bernsteinian framework (the medium through which knowledge is transmitted) is the heterogeneity of teacher nationality, which in the schools studied was a prominently discussed characteristic, with many informants eager to describe the diversity, by nationality, of staff in their school. Practically all the schools spontaneously mentioned the fact of at least some of their teachers being of adverse nationalities, being different both from (where there is

one) the home nationality and, to a significant degree, different from each other. Given this level of prevalence of teacher nationality heterogeneity in the schools canvassed, and that this is an element of the make-up of a school (**NAm3**) over which some of the schools have some control, it is perhaps unsurprising that the informants in the study valorised this diversity.

> *… this is another global component - we have 19 bilingual teachers in the lower school they come from Spain and South America Central America and the islands. And it brings a wonderful diversity to the lower school.*

There were sentiments expressed by at least one school leader that, in their school (**ME6**), there could/should be even more diversity. This is from the head of an international school, whose evidence suggests that within certain constraints (one of which is time), the heads of certain schools do have leeway to shape the make-up of the nationality of the teaching staff at their school

> *I think there is too much homogeneity - we only have 10 or 12 distinct nationalities. US teachers represent more than 50% - to the mortification of the State Department they have dropped from about 62% to 54 on my watch but they are still more than 50% of the teaching body and other North Americans Canadians make up another 8 of the 68 teachers I've got some French some Moroccan British some Australian New Zealand Tunisian Peruvian a Dutch that's maybe the bulk of it. Going into next year there will be a little more diversity.*

By the following two informants (respectively **ME7** & **NAm3**), the value of employing international faculty members was described in terms of systematized cultural enrichment:

> *they bring different experiences and they do bring the different cultures….*

and:

> *The cultural connection has been a plus. And as I said we have these bilingual teachers there from Venezuela from Colombia from Madrid from Puerto Rico… have given the school a whole new flavour*

One, **ME7**, pointed out that having teachers of different national provenance brought to the school both variety and bonus elements of cultural richness, even if it isn't systematized, with the implication that the advantages of having particular nationalities capitalized on in a post hoc manner. For example the ability of the teacher in this quote to dance was valued:

> *. yes we have a Chilean and a Portuguese and we've got a South African coming this year and we've got a couple of Irish (…)and they (…) do bring things into the classroom for example every year in Creative Arts we do Irish dancing, with the Irish teachers – it's bits and pieces in that respect .*

Desirability of international faculty for language teaching

By contrast, in terms of more deliberate planning, a desire for benefits of international faculty that can be planned for and described more systematically include, naturally, those that are used for the teaching of language. The Spanish teachers in **NAm3**, while providing welcomed diversity are there not to provide diversity for diversity's sake but for linguistic reasons

> *We have a partial Spanish immersion program starting with the 4-yr-olds. So in the lower school that's pre-kindergarten through 4th grade. Every path of a bilingual teacher and they are committed to try to do at least one hour in Spanish every day … and we graduate some kids who can speak. Our commitment to the Spanish immersion program in the lower school and to teaching Spanish in the middle school is my hope that we'll be able to turn out some proficient language speakers. So we are now three years into this. My hope is and I have been somewhat clear about this is that in a year or two when we have all these kids coming up from the lower grades who have improved their vocabulary and have more propensity for the language is that we oblige everyone to take Spanish through high school graduation*.

Similarly, many schools, in the Middle East, and elsewhere, employ teachers who are international in the sense that they do not share the nationality of the students, primarily as models of correct and appropriate language use.

> *… staffing is extremely important. Because we have many competitors who have come up in the last five years or so, and many of them employ (..) teachers (from here or) from other places in Asia, our school finds it very important to maintain a very high percentage of expat teachers and of course there is the debate about whether teachers should be native speakers or not. That I have had some confrontations because I have appointed an Xian teacher (nationality for whom English is not the first language) So it's a little bit funny the school wants to be international but not so international that it would appreciate employing local teachers or Xians.*

This would explain the puzzlement of the same head of school (**Asia1**), herself not a first language English user:

> *… yes I could never understand that the school wants me (as a non-native English speaking head of school) but it wants native speaker teachers.*

One informant (**ME7**) talked about the importance of linguistic variation, between first language English speaker teachers from different countries:

> *I'm sure you would agree that (..) Brits (..) bring a very different culture to the school compared to Americans with different spelling different pronunciation.* And we've *got a South African coming this year and we've got a couple of Irish (…) so that's different types of English*

Desirability of international faculty for non-linguistic benefits

From the interviews, there also emerged the idea that what the (various) nationalities of Faculty bring to the national school that is different from what the national faculty bring is much broader than language, even though what exactly the

international faculty bring to the school, and to the enrichment of students was not always found to be straightforward to articulate (**ME7**):

> *it's not formal it's all informal for example when a group of teachers take residential kids out on Saturday for a walk around the city it is the informal conversation – it is not prescribed it is difficult to describe and I am not really answering the question but it is something that just happens. I think it's more rich it is just doing things in different ways. Everything is different even your expectations in the classroom but then even within one nationality, people can have different expectations - it's a broadness I think...*

and going on to say that International teachers are also seen as import mechanisms for tolerance:

> *Oh the foreign teachers especially the Americans are very hooked into this topic but we are of course within the national ministry and if we set up a gay bisexual club it just wouldn't run, so.. , so we're calling it diversity*

However, not all exotic practices can be introduced, whether by international staff or not. Local community values can be a constraint on changing an ethos, as this school head (**ME2**), not a national of the country where they were working, wanted to introduce something seen as commonplace internationally, they were unable to do so:

> *we could not go as far as to support or promote having boys and girls swim together because it would be a huge point of contention in the community - even if we were to have permission from the parents themselves - but in the greater community.*

From the above descriptions, two key notions emerge of what valuable interaction between the student and adults of a different nationality is perceived to be. Firstly it is not confined to the classroom (where it is clearly useful), constituting an important part of the overall school ethos. Secondly, the informant seems to be saying that this interaction, offers students the chance to see and experience tolerance lived out naturally, without the need for explanation.

This theme of natural acquisition of attitudes from international faculty was developed by another informant (**ME1**), who saw particular value in the ability of international faculty to model alternative ways of studying and thinking in the classroom:

> *A lot of students would aim to study overseas and some of them willing to work outside the country so the first use of the IB diploma program is to acculturate these young people as they prepare to go and study and work in another country. One obvious way in which this occurs is by means of the international faculty. Having the chance to interact with teachers from other countries gives students the chance to see things from a different perspective and to question what they do.*

Again, there was mention of a possible alternative strategy to hiring international involves internationalizing the outlook of the national staff, which would seem to be part of a longer term plan to internationalize students by first internationalizing other people to internationalize them. As evidenced by these quotes (from **ME2**) this would seem to be a long, difficult, road:

> *So looking at international themes in our school it's not only the students but also the teachers that we are exposing to it. So they will buy into it and have sympathy with what we're trying to do but many of them themselves have limited experience. Many of our teachers don't have passports or only got them when we sent them abroad for a workshop or to accompany students because they have never had them before.*
>
> *And then for teachers for professional development we try to send them out of Turkey as far as the budget will allow because as I say many of them have never had an international experience. So we try to expose them to other things too*

On the other hand, depending on the accessibility and desirability of the location of a school, it may not be easy to attract international teachers to work there, with the fact of having just a small number of international teachers in a school bringing its own problems:

> *yes and I try to bring in more native English speakers to the school we do not have too many but we have Brits American Canadian a South African to bring in other perspectives what I have to be careful of is that they do not segregate themselves into their own little unit they have to commit to integrate with the other teachers. Ideally I would like to have an international teacher at least one in each department I do not want to have them all in the English department and in fact we have some very good Turkish national English teachers. We now also have an English speaking PE teacher, a physics teacher and we are bringing in an English-speaking maths teacher next year - biology and chemistry are areas that we still need.* (**ME2**)

However, even with these initiatives to have more international faculty, and to internationalize the outlook of the national staff by team teaching and so on, informants who work or have worked in national schools point out that there are limits to this element of socio-constructionist identity formation endeavour, and that for it to work there must be a critical mass of international faculty.

> *"but I think those initiatives have real limits because so much of it is an ethos – you cannot build an ethos from a book … from a philosophy on the wall, or from a set of principles or program objectives – I feel that it is possible to the extent that a school can commit its resources to its staffing. I believe that your staff would have to be overwhelmingly what you want your students to be."*
>
> *"the other problem that a previous school in my experience had was that most of the time all the messages being sent to them by their own national ministry, by the (national program structures and by the other teachers*

> *pulled them away from what they were trying to do within the program."* (**M**E6)

This is further evidenced by one informant's description of the difficulties of communication in schools where the number of international faculty was smaller than the number of local staff who were not very fluent in English:

> *I realised that we had to create an English-speaking culture at the school. Because that did not exist all faculty meetings were in Xish (the national language), and someone will sit and translate for the few expats …* (**ME2**)

5.1.3 Language of interaction: English as the Medium of Instruction

The most significant form of pedagogic challenge faced in many schools is that which results from a school's curriculum being offered and assessed in a language that is not the first language of the student body. For schools in a national system where the language is not English, doing say the IBDP, the fact of candidates having to do a whole swathe of knowledge content to be taught and examined in English in addition to local first language requirements is evidence of a significant amount of international benefit to the students; graduates of such two diploma programs (that of the home country and, say, the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program) will be fluent and academically proficient in two languages. One reason for a national school whose language of instruction is English to hire international teachers is the need to have teachers who can teach comfortably in English; otherwise steps have to be taken to reduce the difficulties of expecting local teachers who share the students' first language to manage this.

> *GCSE and the IB are in English so they need English to be able to succeed. … So we realised that we really need to create a culture of English within the school. That's one* **small** *(*my emphasis*) aspect of internationalism but certainly having them become bilingual as quickly as possible helps them to other things.* (**ME2**)

This is in fact the same school which, rather than have students enrol for English exams in the IBDP at the 'language only level', obliged them to study at the level of language ***and*** English literature in order that they might improve their level of English proficiency for all the other subjects. It might be argued that this informant is mistaken in thinking that having students become sufficiently bilingually competent to take international exams in their second language is a "***small*** aspect of internationalism"; indeed I would argue that this is not a small, but rather a large, and profound, aspect of internationalism. There are a large number of such schools where students are obliged to meet domestic requirements in the home country's official language but which choose to prepare students for international programs in

English as the medium of instruction, and thus have to prepare students not only for external requirements in English but also for local ones in the first language. I would argue that such students are being required to perform at a more thoroughly international level than say a First Language English Speaker (FLES) at an English medium international school or even than a non-FLES international school student who, while albeit obliged to learn in their second language, is not expected (additionally) to meet examinable general academic requirements in their first. In as much as this is an area where informants revealed a need for a school to take an assertive stance it can be seen that this is not always a straightforward proposition.

> *I had to make sure that no teacher who spoke English we speak any (the national language of the students) in the classroom. And that sounds easier than it is - this is an ongoing battle in every single class. If I'm going to a class and hear Xish spoken in an English-speaking class then that teacher gets a letter saying that we cannot accept that so I'm not holding the students responsible for it but the teachers. They just need to speak all the time and I insist that any teachers of English language lessons must always speak to the students in English inside class and outside class. Students need to see teachers or those teachers as people who only speak English.* (**ME2**)

The same head, in a school where the same subject may be taught in the one language at one level and in the other at another, describes how the cognitive load on teachers who are obliged to teach in their second language can be relieved slightly:

> *I've also tried to eliminate any teachers having to teach in two different languages, so now teachers teach only in English or only in Xish not both otherwise it is confusing for everyone.*

Language offerings and bilingualism and depth of English

In all schools canvassed, national schools as well as so-called international schools, great store was placed in teaching English to all students, even if it is not the child's first language. One head, stating that the students in the school *need English to be able to succeed because* the *IGCSE and the IB are in English'* explained that prospective students are tested for English proficiency even before they enter the school.

> (in the entrance examination there is) *emphasis on student English even though it is not required that students having this before they coming to our school we find that the ones who have no English at all are the ones who tend to struggle.* (**ME2**)

The same informant stressed that what was required is a sufficient level of English to understand the exams of subjects other than English, reporting that when they asked for external advice on why some students the previous year had not scored

sufficient Diploma Points on the Higher Level subjects, the reason was nothing to do with the content of the exam, but because:

'*their English was not strong enough for them to understand what the exam questions were asking and how they should respond in an academic way. So we realized that we really need to create a culture of English within the school.* (**ME8**)

Another informant made the point that exposure to international programs taught and assessed in English developed the way that students use English:

> *… they needed to write their personal project in English they needed to write lab reports. (…) in English. I also graduated from this school and was taught science and maths in English many years ago but I (…) saw that our new graduates are better than me - I cannot compare their English with mine.*

When asked about the extent to which they thought students felt international, one informant stressed the importance English and support for English as a means of understanding internationalism:

> *(*when asked about students who may not buy into the idea of an international ethos or have difficulty in feeling that they are international*) "the only real obstacle to such understanding of what that means to them is their level of English to help them understand the concepts behind what it means to be international so hand in hand with guiding them towards a deeper understanding of internationalism has to be support for the development of their English.* (**ME6**)

5.2 The international dimension of knowledge transmitted

This section analyzes what school informants stated were important in the provision of an international school ethos in terms of the pedagogized knowledge that has been selected as suitable for transmission. Questions posed to the informants in this section were framed generally in order to elicit as broad and as inclusive a response as possible. This, in line with Bernstein's definition, includes knowledge skills and attitudes. To describe this, I will use the word curriculum in the broadest sense of the word to include everything on offer to students: knowledge skills attitudes values formally or informally, implicitly or explicitly. To make the international curriculum data more amenable to analysis, I will treat it in four separate sub-sections as follows:

1. Internationalism as a notion in its own right;
2. Short-term international activities
3. Internationally transferable (national) content;
4. Internationally transferable content imported by means of international curriculum programs and international curriculum frameworks

5.2.1 Internationalism as a notion in its own right

For this study I deem one level of international knowledge to be knowledge for which explicit claims are made by an informant for this knowledge to have some quality or element that is international per se. This may be more or less is on the surface of school life, and thus visible. Concrete visible manifestations of internationalism include both international themes and mentions in curriculum work and school celebrations. Three heads chose to bring up international type celebrations of what Skelton et al (2002) refer to as the five 'F's: flags, food, famous people, festivals and fashion. For example, one head (**Eur1**) suggested that by means of such celebrations, the school can create an atmosphere of community and inclusivity:

> *"Well like many international schools there's always been this fascination with the five 'f's of internationalism: food, flags, festivals, famous people and there is a big part of that at the school – they have an international fair where families come together and celebrate: food, flags etc."*

However, one of the three heads chose to divulge criticism directed at them from other constituents of the school community for having allowed in one division of their school a celebration of a festival originating from outside the national context because of its perceived association with a particular religious faith.

> *I made sure that all four prep classes did something about Halloween but extremely low key but then afterward someone criticized us for marking Christian (sic) holidays.* (**ME2**)

A third head found themselves reflecting on what the fact of a tradition in their school to celebrate Christmas implied for the school's stated aim of being secular,

> *the school prides itself despite celebrating Christmas on being secular - it is all through the mission & vision ... (***Asia1***)*

and was forthcoming with the information that in fact a number of festivals are celebrated at the school:

> *there are still a number of traditions in the school that I find unusual for an international school like the celebration of Christmas for example but yeah we do have celebrations for the Chinese New Year and the Korean New Year.*

By contrast, celebration of Earth Day, mentioned spontaneously by two heads, appears more inclusive in that it is by definition global, and thus more neutral. In contrast to the international celebration of national flags above, another interesting example of intentional neutrality, and thus professed openness to a more neutral, and thus international, ideal is that of the school that does not, unusually for its context, follow the national tradition of its country of holding a ceremony of allegiance to a national flag.

> *So what is interesting for us, and every school is idiosyncratic, is that a student can spend their whole life here from the age of four up to senior high school without having once read the oath of allegiance to the (national) flag. Culturally in the school we do not embrace dogma of any kind. While I do not mean to slight national anthems it has never been a practice of the school that we do the traditional rituals so we never open anything with a prayer or with a salute. We wouldn't sing the national anthem and sometimes families ask and I explain that it just isn't part of our practices.*

Apart from questions of secularity on the one hand and perceived inclusivity/exclusivity/neutrality on the other, questions have been raised about the value of any celebrations of flag, food festival , costume and so on, which I would term as being characterized by cultural colour only, and which have been accused of being superficial (see again Skelton et al 2002). Indeed, no Informant in this study talked about significant impact on their students of such international type celebrations. One head (**ME2**) pointed out the usefulness of tying mention of an international feature to deeper intellectual engagement, contrasting in this excerpt cursory treatment of two so-called international days with a closer focus on a third:

> *there are three international days that we look at during the year and we try to pick things that have nothing to do with religion or are specifically from one country so we do Halloween the other one we do is Chinese New Year and the third one we do in April is Earth day we do it because it ties writing to (the local holiday of) Children's Day and we plant a lot of trees and focus on the environment*

As well as for the explicit intention to choose events which are nationally neutral, and thereby being more inclusive, this example merits attention because of the stated intention to, rather than merely to mention it, integrate it into a more meaningful activity (the writing exercise). This is in contrast to a second theme which emerged from the data from this study: possible perceptions of superficiality. One element of this was a number of references by informants to how certain facts or features of classifications associated commonly with other nationalities, or other regions of the world, are mentioned in activities and curriculum documentation without any exploration of their scope, significance or even reality. For example, this head's exhortation to their faculty to make International references offers no evidence of such references being integrated meaningfully into student work

> *And then when teachers are preparing their yearly plans for years 9 to 12, I tried to get teachers to incorporate references to internationalism and incorporate elements into the courses. And within the curriculum we have various international things and we have science fairs where we bring in things from other countries.*

Likewise, the same head (**ME2**) makes no claims for the educational value of the international nature of these things brought in from outside. Similarly, the following

would be an example of where an international element is mentioned but left unexplored. The informant is describing a competitive entrance examination in which all students currently in the school will necessarily have been successful:

> *in the art test we require them to look beyond X (this country). We gave him a set of materials and told them to create a Chinese fan or an African mask. Now we didn't judge them on how authentic they were we were evaluating creativity but we felt that we were giving them a subtle message that we are thinking beyond this country.*

And, the following is a further example in the school's offerings of reference to international elements that are not substantiated by cognitive engagement:

> *we try to do international things from kindergarten upwards so for example today the kindergarten children performed an Indian dance because one of the parents is Indian and talk to the kids and I happened to be on an accreditation trip in India so I went out and bought 20 costumes and brought them back they were cheap enough so we had this authentic dance which is kind of good we do many international things right from kindergarten through elementary and this year we have the first year of middle school..*

In contrast, one informant (**ME1**) spoke at length of the need to study international-mindedness per se and argued a close connection between international mindedness and critical thinking

> *I believe that being able to see things from a more international perspective, or international mindedness, is part of critical thinking.*

This approach to international mindedness is much closer to the more sophisticated view of Rizvi (2007) who argues that international mindedness can be taught not as surface features but as two competences which he terms epistemic virtue and reflexivity.

5.2.2 Short-term International educational experiences -

When asked about the provision of an international ethos almost all the informants raised initiatives or activities of the school, and frameworks for their organization, whereby students are transplanted on a short-term basis to an international milieu; in order to be exposed to an international or global experience, a number of students leave, for a limited period of time and in a manner planned by the school, the country of the location of the school. These excursions seem to be organized according to a number of formats, including student exchange, service, conferences and competitive sport. As was determined in 5.1 (the medium of transmission) above, a number of these, such as sports trips, or school exchange visits with no (or extremely diffuse) curriculum aims, appear more amenable to analysis as student to interaction with other students and other responsible adults in other schools where the nationalities of these others confronted by students provides them with

opportunities for exposure to a greater heterogeneity of nationalities than they would experience without the visit.

In this section will now be treated instances of where the planned temporary transplantation of students from the country of the school's home country makes claims to the transmission of pedagogized knowledge. They can be classified into three types: firstly language development programs; secondly conferences; thirdly community trips where students get to stay with a community (often with a service element involved) life experiences outside the school and cultural enrichment. International study programs and exchange visits for the purpose of foreign language development, as staples of the language learning and teaching scene for many decades, are not particularly new or interesting; mentions of them by informants are included for completeness. One informant (**NAm3**) talked about a program to Spain from North America:

> *The Granada Spanish program is being reviewed*

This program benefits small number of students only, as was the case with this informant from a national school in the Middle East (**ME7**):

> *we send about twenty students to France and Germany each year*

Some informants raised student attendance at conferences that may be said to be international in two ways: not only is the location of the conference routinely in a different country from that of the school but claims can be also made for a certain international, or at least global, element to the conference proceedings.

> *we attend those GIN Conferences – the global issues network is all about people who are inspired to protect the environment to protect ecosystems people who have empathy towards people who are less privileged so it's all those issues at conferences that we attend.* (**Asia1**)

Another informant described how students from their school attend conferences of the Model United Nations, where student teams collaborate and compete in the writing and debating of draft resolutions concerning real issues in countries other than their own.

> *(at the Hague, site of the largest and most established of MUN conferences) there is a pretty healthy ethos you will encounter, work with, compete against people from other countries and I think that adds a measure of internationalism to the school* (**ME7**)

There was extensive mention by informants of international educational trips where students get to stay with a community, often with a service element involved.

> *We have one week at school it is called outreach it is the wrong name for this week but all secondary school students go on a trip. These trips have*

> *one component – the trips are community based. Some are inside and some are outside the country.* (**Asia1**)

Of course, if the students of a given school are not from the country of the location of the school, the trips even inside that same country can still give international insights, if on such trips the students are exposed to facets of the life and realities of the host country that they have not seen before are given the opportunity to perform service duty in places that they would not otherwise experience.

Another head described how the travel program at their school (NAm3), which has a wide range of elements, one of which requiring a two-week stay at a socio-economically challenged rural area in Asia, is integral to the school in two senses: firstly that it is a right for all students to take part and secondly that the school works hard to integrate the programs into the academic work of the school.

> *Now the global education program feeds into that. It is important So we make our travel programs available to everybody so over the course of their time here they can go to France they can go to Spain they can go to Costa Rica Tanzania India and we make all of those available regardless of finances. If you indicate you want to do it you can participate. So there is no financial stigma and that opportunity is available to everyone. And over the years we have built these travel programs into our curriculum. We have an upper school elective on African history. We have a Latin American history course we have a modern India course. Kids take the relevant course either before or after the trip. We took the eighth graders to Costa Rica there is an elective they have to participate in. So they learn about the culture & geography and politics before and after they go and they improve their Spanish speaking skills.*

This theme of the need to make the international experiences meaningful was reprised by the informant who elaborated on how international trips undertaken by students are not supplementary but integral to the school's work:

> (…) *these programs - how they are fundamental part of the education here rather than just a nice add-on that we really haven't had to convince anyone of their value. I think the only reservations some parents have heard are to do with the developmental stage of the children. They may ask questions or invite questions such as would my daughter get the most out of this program in ninth-grade or should I wait a year and have her go in tenth grade?*

The informant went on to explain how student international experiences are embedded not only into the school's curriculum but also into the school's yearly cycle.

> *"One of our strategies have been to suspend all regular courses and instead offer what we call spring intensives where throughout the upper school teachers pair up or sometimes work in threes to team teach highly interdisciplinary courses that involve a lot of projects, or moving around the city. And in our case we are able to implement the travel programs in them."*

Substance to the trips in terms of their own content, objectives and texture was variously attested to. One informant, the director of international education for their fee-paying school in North America, elaborated on they perceive as the substance of their school community trips abroad. One theme of particular significance to this informant was a desire to help students elaborate some kernels of truth that (in over-generalized form) underlay many stereotypical narratives. To help students do this, the international programs organized by this school involve not only experiences but also debate of those experiences, with great store placed by such as "prompts", "journaling", discussion', reflection", "challenging stereotypes". The informant goes on to say that the school trips provide:

> *"a lot of rich texture which I think prevents it from degrading into a mere sight seeing experience"*

To provide an effective context chosen destinations include:

> *"countries that are rife with contradictions and that subvert expectations"*

A significant element of the community trips of this school is one of community service; for the informant, one important facet of the trips is that community service work is able not only to be done in situ but also via a process that enables students to understand issues and the conception of projects to address them.

> *… a more ethical less patronizing way of getting students to take action – not just collect money blindly and donate it but to become involved in a modest way with the community that is developing the project. SS see ownership but also understand the project's provenance*

While informants take pains to stress that it is important to make sure that everybody understands that international trips are not a vacation they concede that they are popular. At the same time there is evidence of students being significantly affected by them. This is from the informant at a North American school (which used to organize community trips to East Africa), describing in detail how the impact of such international trips has altered the life trajectory of three of his students:

> *I have one student who had just graduated so he was going to Cornell to pursue medicine and he thought that he would go into general practice but after Kenya he decided he wanted to focus on global health. He's now graduated from college and is applying for medical school and that is still his emphasis. I had another student from that same group who just after her junior year so she was getting ready to apply for university she thought that she would be a journalist that was really what her passion was but she was so impressed by the pressures in the Masai community surrounding water and water availability that she wanted to focus her career on natural resources management. So she totally changed her college plans looked at a totally different set of schools and has graduated from Cornell's course in natural resources management and she has been back to East Africa several times around college to continue looking at that particular issue in*

> *that part of the world. And then I have a student who is just graduating this spring. A few years ago she went to India and she was fascinated by the idea of sustainable architecture and by the resourcefulness of the people in India using different kinds of materials to build houses and so on. So she became interested in architecture and sustainability and that is going to study architecture at University. And you know none of those three students would ever have thought that they would be going in those particular directions when they embarked upon these travel programs.*

To sum up, short-term international experiences for students have become an extremely significant part of the total offerings of all the schools studied. Schools have to work hard to manage these programs; indeed two informants talked about positions of responsibility 'Director of International Programs' and 'Director of Immersive Education' that had been created in their schools for this very purpose. Among the schools in the study there was a range both of the number of students who benefit and of the degree to which the opportunities are formally linked to the curriculum. There was evidence of some of these international experiences, even though of limited duration, having significant impact on subsequent life choices of students who went through them.

5.2.3 Internationally transferable (national) content

This section investigates the idea of knowledge having significance that is not international per se but which is recognized as significant internationally; i.e. that knowledge associated closely with the canon, the total authorized knowledge, of a particular country may be used exotically. In the data, there was not extensive mention in the interviews of such imported content.

Of all the informants, only one (**ME6**) talked about more package deal curriculum importation, describing how their middle school relied on various imported curriculum docs for

> *different subject areas (…….) bringing in Idaho standards for language development, something else for social studies and British Columbian standards for science*

In this example it seems that the school has chosen the exotic curriculum documents, not because of their exoticness per se, but rather because of the school's trust in them as effective documents, endorsed by state or provincial authorities

> *Each of them is coherent and each of them I believe is based on a well-documented understanding of a child's cognitive development*

It is significant that the knowledge in such documents – British Columbia languages for example, has been pedagogized and authorized in a specific Canadian province or US state but once transmitted to the students in the remote schools is not evaluated by the authorities that were responsible for the knowledge's

pedagogization. This model will be contrasted (in the next sub-section) with that of curriculum being not only pedagogized but also evaluated internationally.

To take a different type of example, one head of a national school (where students share the same nationality) talked about the value of teaching English classics of literature. The Head (M**E**7) displays a palpable sense of pride in the fact that the study of part of the Western canon can be taught at their school and is successfully taught (in the English language) in the English class:

> *'if truth be told literature is literature whether it's English or Xish but there is value in reading literature from Shakespeare to modern US and British writers and we do world literature too – they certainly wouldn't be doing that in your average Xish national school'*

And similarly in a cultural elective course for ultimate- and penultimate- year students:

> *"I wouldn't call it a civilization course because that would be too rooted in history and political history but it is more a cultural survey course seeing through the lens of how politics, history geography and society have influenced the Arts, so they do everything from Machiavelli …and I think we ended up doing Camus' Sisyphus."*

This school's inclusion in its curriculum of classics of literature is clearly an example of local treatment of exotic canon, with Camus having been pedagogically authorized by French educational authorities, and Shakespeare being Shakespeare. Even though it is possible to consider such works part of a world canon, it is true that, as the informant states, not every school treats them. This is of course a very clear example of students being endowed with cultural capital that sets them apart from some of their peers.

What is distinct from the example of the imported North American 'package' curriculum documents above is that the school here does not seem to see a need for the educational endorsement of a distal pedegogizing authority; rather the school takes it as read that the inclusion of Shakespeare et al is justifiable and includes it independently. (The role of schools in the pedagogization of knowledge will be treated in later sections.)

A third head (it will be recalled) also argued for the inclusion of Anglophone Literature, not for the literary value of the worked studied, but rather maintaining that the study of Anglophone Literature was necessary in the teaching of English for students to be able to transcend the study of language only and thus reach a certain level of English language proficiency. The context of this argument is the effective preparation of students for international exams, in subjects other than English.

> *When I came in I made a very unpopular decision; I switched all the students … and put them into (IB Diploma) English Language and Literature (rather than English Language). And some of those kids were taking (English) language at higher level so it was really tough. (..) And they fought it (but) that was the first class we had where 100% of the students passed the IB diploma. (..) My point: they did not need the English for the English; they needed it for everything else (***ME2***)*

The result of this approach is that students at this school attain a level of English expression, and gain a degree of detailed insight into exotic curriculum content that is in stark contrast to the vast majority of schools and students in this country, where the study of literature is confined to the national, and where such proficient use of an international language is both prized and difficult to attain.

5.2.4 Claims for international curriculum pedagogized and evaluated internationally

This section addresses claims for international curriculum that is pedagogized and evaluated internationally. The analysis does start with any preconceived notion of the internationalness or otherwise of any programs mentioned in this section. As was seen in Chapter 1, the question of how international, say, the International Baccalaureate Diploma is, to say the least, a vexed one. The starting point of this section is purely the fact that some programs are international by name and thus international at least in a self-styled manner. In the schools canvassed, some used no international program; some used international programs as their entire curricular offerings, others offered international programs interspersed at separate times with local offerings, while others taught at least one international curricular program to students at the same time as they were taking a national program. The focus of this section is not any kind of justification of so-called international curriculum, but rather a study of what, when asked specifically about international ethos and identity, our informant schools deem worthy of mention, and why.

Given the prevalence of these programs in schools around the world, whether those schools are so-called national or so-called international, the fact that a number of informants discussed the International Baccalaureate programs (Primary Years, Middle Years and Diploma programs), and to a lesser degree IGCSE, was hardly a surprise. The informants referred to all other international programs mentioned in positive terms.

A number of informants tied international programs to elements that may be argued to be greater than might be expected in a classical view of the role of examining bodies. For example, this informant (**EUR2**) seems to be tying IB programs to the core of school identity:

We had the unifying identity of being a three program IB school.

Furthermore at least one informant deemed IB programs IGCSE etc. to represent curriculum strength. While it is possibly interesting that this Head (**BME2**) referred to the IBDP and UGCSE in such a way their name alone vouched for their quality:

> *in terms of curriculum development we have a pretty strong program because we offer the two international programs (IBDP and IGCSE***)**

This head considers IB and IGCSE as good for curriculum 'development'. This is not elaborated on, and may of course in the absence of further information, be interpreted in a classical sense of an exam board supplying clear curriculum documentation and then testing against it rigorously in ways that are (internationally) perceived as fair - the result of which will be to keep teachers and students on their toes with regard to all aspects of the curriculum over which they have control: transmission and learning, and thus lead to an academic program that is strong. The assumptions in the quote are that the IB and the Cambridge syndicate supply curriculum which is deemed (internationally) strong. However, a further informant, who is referring specifically to the International Baccalaureate, implies a view of a curriculum agency that is very different from the more classical notion of an exam board as mere curriculum supplier and examiner. The content of this excerpt is more suggestive of the curriculum agency being conceived of as a school support system, giving hints of details of what support the certain international organizations can offer.

> *"the elementary school has the PYP and we also have the diploma program. For grades 6 to 10 we have our own program, which is modelled on the MYP. But the fact that it does not have an external accrediting agent and it does not have a strong structure have affected it and I consider it the weakest part of our school. So you can't really expect teachers who do not have much experience of working in international schools or in writing curriculum to just produce curriculum especially if you do not have behind you an organization which sends evaluators (and) which organizes training. It really makes a difference (not) being part of a system."* (**Asia1**)

Even in this single short quote, there are a number of points that raise issues of interest to this study. Firstly, the informant talks about the school's need to write curriculum. This is interesting in the sense that we previously had been, in line with the Bernstein model of the pedagogization of knowledge, assuming curriculum to be something that was handed to schools, as a package ready for them to transmit, not as something that schools needed to write themselves. Closely connected to this is a supposition that teachers who have more experience in international schools will be better at writing curriculum. It is also interesting for this study to note the support (taken almost as granted as being) offered by the 'organization' (Here IB) in the

quote which provides at least two services: firstly teacher training and secondly evaluative processes that are helpful - the fact of the evaluation being constructive and therefore helpful is clear from the use of the word 'behind', which makes it clear that the organization is being seen as 'having the school's back', rather than adopting a more adversarial (confrontational) stance in front of them. Lastly there is something 'knowing' about the tenor of this quote which suggests that, in the informant's circles at least, the fact that an organization which some may take, naively, to be a writer and examiner of curriculum functions in fact both as an inspector of schools and as a teacher training resource is widely understood and accepted.

The dissertation will now look more closely at this theme of schools being involved in the process of curriculum writing, and exam boards being involved in the process of school program evaluation and teacher training. To do this, there will need to be analysis of the process of pedagogization as it happens to develop programs such as those of the IB (which are international in the sense of not being produced by agencies not associated with national authorities), which is more delicate. This will oblige us in the next section to revisit and elaborate on the Bernstein term 'recontextualization', which has been proposed as being central to pedagogization processes, but which has not yet in this dissertation been sufficiently developed.

5.3 Pedagogic Recontextualization (PR)

After treatment above, in section 1, of medium (learners / teachers / language of medium of instruction), then, in section 2, of pedagogized knowledge and the evaluation of its learning by students, this section focuses on evidence in the study of what Bernstein calls pedagogic recontextualization. It will be recalled from Chapter 1 that according to Bernstein's model, knowledge is pedagogized which for Bernstein is a two-stage process whereby knowledge is first 'produced' (in universities, by research) and then, by a stage that he terms recontextualization, converted into a form that is suitable for transmission to students. Bernstein asserts that the recontextualization of knowledge into a form accessible to non-specialist consumers is increasingly undertaken within agencies of recontextualization. He explains that recontextualization is a dynamic, even combative, process of competition between agencies that occurs within what he terms 'fields' and likens (Solomon 1999) to 'arenas'. According to Bernstein, there are two such recontextualization fields: a pedagogic recontextualization field of (PRF), which consists of university departments together with their research; specialized media of education weeklies journals and publishing houses together with their advisers; and

an Official recontextualization field (ORF), which consists of specialized departments and sub-agencies of the state and local education authorities together with their research and system of inspectors

Firstly in 5.3.1, evidence from this study will be analyzed in terms of this distinction between the two recontextualization fields. Subsequently, there will be inspection of evidence which appears to question whether the notion of PRF is as tightly circumscribed as is suggested in Bernstein's definition, and which appears to suggest the need for a broadening of Bernstein's conception of agencies of PR to include schools, which, it will be shown, may be considered in certain circumstances, to be both as loci of PR, and as agents of PR.

5.3.1 Imported curriculum as artefact, with no school interaction in an Official Recontextualization Field

It is straightforward to use an instance from the data discussed thus far in Chapter 4 to show one level of the distinction to the thesis. In 5.2 it was established that schools may make use of authorized standards of curriculum that have been imported from education authorities outside the country of the school's location. A concrete example of this was School **ME6** using British Columbia standards for science as a means of defining their scope and sequence of curriculum teaching. It does not seem contentious to assert that any school that uses British Columbia's curriculum standards is making use of the work of educational experts in that province (who have possibly built on the work of experts elsewhere) in packaging raw knowledge into a form that is amenable to pedagogical transmission. In Bernstein's terminology, because this curriculum documentation has the official stamp of approval of the BC authorities, it can be seen to have been processed not only in a PRF, but also in the British Columbia Official Recontextualization Field (ORF). The school in our study, which is outside British Columbia, while it may nod to the official stamp of approval, has no interaction in either of the fields, merely taking the curriculum document as a ready artefact. This is in contrast to schools in British Columbia, where acceptance of the curriculum documentation will necessarily entail subsequent interaction within the ORF, in the sense that student learning will be assessed (and as a result credentials awarded) by official provincial student assessment processes, and the way official schools deliver the curriculum assessed by the official inspectorate, this is not the case for a school outside the province.

5.3.2 Curriculum imported from an organization which acts as PRF and ORF simultaneously.

At least one school (ME2) enters students to the examinations known as IGCSE. Other schools in the study, together with E, were seen to enter students to the IB Diploma. Cambridge (2010) has shown how the organization known as IB is to be regarded, for its Diploma Program, as an organ of recontextualization; it packages knowledge into curriculum, student learning of which is assessed (either directly, or by a process of moderation of school internal assessment) by the IB itself. It thus sets itself up as both a PRF and an ORF. I would argue that both these sets of exams can be analyzed, up to a point, in a common manner, as follows. The IGCSE and IB organizations can be considered to be as agencies of PR, who have using various expertise and mechanisms to produce finalized curriculum documents: course guides, practice assessments and so on. Analogous to the example above of the school appropriating curriculum documents from Canada, a school may, theoretically at least, purchase these IBDP or IGCSE guides and implement any of the courses to its students, but without entering them for evaluation. However, distinct from the British Columbia example, it is commonplace for schools to make use not only of the curriculum documents of say the IBDP but also of the organisation, as a credentialing agency. The organisation sets its own terms for the issuing of credentials and puts its own official stamp on the curriculum documents. Whereas the IB clearly works with other agencies, such as universities to develop its curriculum, in one sense it might be possible to consider the IB working, as a self styled official agency of recontextualization, in a vacuum, if the organization were solely responsible for setting examinations and assessment criteria over which it has the final say. However, and more interestingly than that, it is well known that IB works not only with universities to perform its PR but also with official agencies, higher education authorities and the admissions offices of universities to negotiate equivalency for its IBDP qualification, which is clearly necessary to impart students and schools with the confidence they would need to embark on diploma studies. In this sense the IB can be seen to be working within various official recontextualization fields, the results of which work contribute of course to the value of the credential. Thus, when schools enter the students for assessment by these organizations they are entering into a contract according to which they agree to abide by the organization's adjudication on the quality and thus credential-worthiness of their students' work in return for the organization's maintenance of the value of that credential. From an international education perspective, the interest in the above lies in the fact that schools availing themselves of boards such as IB and

IGCSE are much further removed from the ORF than they would be if they were working in the local system in say British Columbia.

5.3.3 Imported curriculum that leads to more complex interplay between PRF + ORF

Analysis of the two straightforward cases above, while dry, has been useful to clear the ground before scrutiny of more intricate interesting interplay in the data between fields of recontextualization, Whereas the basic notion of Bernstein's conceptualization of recontextualization as exemplified by the British Columbia example suggests that the curriculum authority is a locus of pedagogical recontextualization, and that the school is a locus of transmission, data here will now be organized in such a way to highlight the fact that schools have the capacity to and may (depending on their own sense of agency in the formation of their own identity and ethos) act both as a locus of pedagogical recontextualization and as a locus of transmission concurrently. Firstly, however, the general point will be made, from evidence in the interviews, that despite Bernstein's conceptualization of recontextualization as a process that occurs in two distinct fields, the PRF and the ORF, the empirical picture seems more blurred, and this distinction less clear-cut.

This was a case in one curriculum: a locally developed IB-authorized curriculum document that was written by a number of national schools in the same region for transmission to students taking the IB Diploma Program at a number of the participant schools, discussed here by two informants:

> *This course (Turkish Social Studies, later renamed) Turkey in the 20th century, was developed from around 1999 onwards as an attempt to reduce the workload of Turkish IB diploma students by combining subjects such as history and geography and sociology that were obligatory in the Turkish national system and into an interdisciplinary subject that harmonised with the curriculum aims of the IB and which was amenable to IB assessment. It was a huge amount of work and a review led to an improved version. Later the assessment was returned to the IB.* (**ME1**)

I suggest that consideration of TSS is germane to the current discussion because it illustrates one way that, squarely in line with its stated mission, the IB can be seen, in a manner that is amenable to analysis in terms of Bernstein's notion of recontextualization fields, to work with schools and governments to develop programs of international education, touched on by this informant too (**ME2**):

> *There are more and more schools there that are taking on the various IB programs. And IB understands the unique requirements of the Ministry of education. For example at the last meeting (of the IB Regional Committee) I asked them to consider and I don't know if anybody else has ever done this before but I asked them to consider offering TITTC Turkish in the Twentieth Century at the higher level as well.*

It seems that, envisaged as a course that would be primarily taken by Turkish students, TSS grew from a need felt by schools in Turkey where students faced the dual requirements of both the IB Diploma and the local Turkish High school diploma which is a prerequisite for university study for Turkish citizens. To explore the possibility of, with one course, satisfy the social studies requirements of the Turkish Diploma and, at the same time, count towards the IBDP, as a subject within Group 3 (Individuals and Society), from which all IBDP candidates are required to choose at least one examinable subject, a group of teachers and IBDP coordinators from a number of IB Diploma Program schools in Turkey developed in draft form within a framework for curriculum development the IB calls 'School-Based-Syllabus'. To meet the IB curriculum development criteria, the working group did the following three things. Firstly, they changed the content of four separate courses (Physical Geography, Human Geography, History, and Turkish Revolutionary History) and fashion them into the one Turkish Social Studies course. Secondly, the schools the scope of the content of the course was broadened: the course became more international than the subjects it was aiming to replace through consideration of not only Turkish geography and history but of how these related to Turkey's neighbours; at the same time, the course became more universal than the subjects it was aiming to replace through inclusion of elements of epistemology, particularly through the consideration of primary sources. Thirdly, the assessment framework and procedures for the course were developed by means of performance related criteria designed to emphasize the skills element of the new course and de-emphasize the need for the memorization of knowledge that formed the basis of the local subjects.

From the start, this curriculum development work was, although executed by schoolteachers, overseen by the IB, in the light of its published guidelines. Thus, through the agency of the IB, the nascent course grew to take on characteristics of IBDP subjects developed by the IB itself: the aims and objectives of TSS were rendered compatible with the overall aims of all the other IB social studies type courses (IBDP Group 3); the assessment framework for TSS, was developed to be compatible with the assessment policy of the IB; subject specific content evaluation was provided by an IB-appointed external examiner (a Turkish academic working for a UK university), who was also charged with overseeing the work, done by the schools, of setting and evaluating examination papers.

Looking in this way at the explicit role the IB played in the production of new pedagogic discourse, it is straightforward to describe the recontextualization agency displayed by the IB as pedagogic. It is also straightforward to describe the

recontextualization agency displayed by the Turkish education authorities as official. To be able to teach the new curriculum in place of the four subjects it was to replace, the Turkish IB schools obtained formal authorization from the organ of the education ministry charged with curriculum development, which was duly published in the Turkish Ministry of Education's official gazette.

However, it would be an oversimplification to suggest that the roles played by the IB and the Turkish Ministry were purely pedagogic and official respectively. It may be argued firstly that, the course authors (the Turkish school teachers) in the same way that they were guided when producing their pedagogic discourse by the pedagogic framework of the IB, were also guided by their knowledge of the pedagogic framework and traditions of the national education ministry. The resultant pedagogic content of TSS was the product of influences that were in some ways opposing (see above: national/international; specific/ universal; memorization/skills performance), and could be argued to fall in between the two. I would argue secondly that in addition to the agency it displayed in pedagogic recontextualization, the IB can also be considered an agent of official recontextualization. The IB has constituted its own rules that govern both membership and the award of qualifications; all the work done on recontextualization into pedagogic discourse ultimately deemed appropriate by the IB was carried out in the clear knowledge of everybody that authorization by the IB would happen if and only if Turkish Social Studies met the IB's stated expectations. To sum up, this example shows clearly that IB works not only as its own self-styled ORF but also that it negotiates and obtains results in the ORF of other countries. It also gives evidence of the IB's work in PR is partly the result of collaboration with (not just seconded expert but currently practicing) teachers.

5.3.4 Writing curriculum in school and schools as agents of PR

It turns out that curriculum writing is practiced not only by agencies of pedagogical recontextualization, such as university departments, educational, foundations, exam boards, and groups of interested teachers working under the close supervision of exam boards, but also by teachers in schools. This has been demonstrated clearly in quotes from interviews such as:

> *We have completely refashioned the middle school we have integrated the English and the history and come up with a joint humanities course…. (NAm3)*

and

> *So the teachers, the faculty, have ownership over the design of that curriculum but are guided by the philosophy of teaching and learning of the IB program. It is loose enough for you to have ownership of the planning within the guidelines laid down by the IB. (***EUR1***)*

It is thus argued that schools themselves, if they meet a criterion of writing curriculum, or recontextualizing knowledge into their own systems for the transmission of knowledge, should be considered to be agents of PR. This section will show ways in which schools can themselves recontextualize knowledge in distinct ways: with specific focus on the generalization of the particular - what can be termed translocalization or the transcendence of locale, through the teaching and learning of broadly applicable concepts and through action outside the school; secondly combination so of movement from the Particular to the General and from General to Particular, can be shown to achieve a unique, individual curriculum that chimes and is authentic

In line with the theme of this dissertation of international ethos, there will now be focus on elements of school-developed curriculum that stimulates consideration of the general rather than merely the particular, and which results in a certain translocalization of local curriculum content. This theme is captured very clearly in an extended version of the quote above:

> *We ..... have integrated the English and the history and come up with a joint humanities course in which the kids are really challenged to look at the world situation We've come up with a program called Taking a global view', which identifies problems kids research and connect on but the major part of what eighth grade does. Everything you want the kids to be the active learners we want them to be the collaborators. We want to buy many different levels to be the problem solvers. And we do push them to look at the outside world. (***Am3***)*

This quote happens to have been uttered in reference to a school that is in the enviable position of enjoying great independence and it is acknowledged that not all schools have the luxury of being able to completely refashion anything, or to create innovative new courses (subjects). Nevertheless, few would argue with the central argument of this head that curriculum should be presented in such way as to force young people to look out, to think broadly, to take the global view. This is certainly an approach championed explicitly by the organization that is considered to have the most international outlook of any curriculum agency, the IB. In this study, the most evidence of this was found in applications of what IB calls its curriculum frameworks. Distinct from the Diploma Program discussed above with its set of examinable syllabi, many schools around the world, including a number in this study, implement the other two elements of the International Baccalaureate suite: Middle

Years Program and Primary Year Program, which are designated not curricula but curricula frameworks. It is expected that schools that adopt either of these two frameworks work themselves to draw their own picture in the empty frame, by drawing on locally prescribed curriculum content. Schools that offer internationally endorsed curricular frameworks (such as the IBPYP and/or IBMYP) may choose, say, what history to transmit, but the way that this knowledge is recontextualized into pedagogic discourse is significantly influenced by the IB. In this way it can be possible to transcend more national constraints of a local authority:

> *This is what the school did - although under the limitations of the ministry of education, they tried their best to make their education more student-centred and to include a more intercultural aspect to their education system* (**ME8**)

One strategy for transcending the local in both the PYP and MYP frameworks is a striving for universality and therefore transferability. These include global concepts and, here, one informant discussed efforts in their school to foster globally universally desirable attributes and attitudes:

> *using the philosophy of the International baccalaureate (and) the philosophy of the Learner Profile, they have tried to embed a deeper understanding of what internationalism really is. And it focuses on such things as compassion, caring, empathy and collaboration, thoughtfulness, those kind of things, which are harder to define, harder to quantify but now more than ever they are trying to embed more attributes (of the Learner Profile) into different aspects of school life….*(**EUR1**)

The perceived importance of universal elements is evidenced the same head's discussion of the desired nature of a PYP school's curricular backbone, its 'program of inquiry'.

> *the basic philosophy behind the Program of Inquiry is that the central ideas and lines of inquiry (for each unit in the Program of Inquiry) should be transferable so technically the Program of Inquiry (in our school) could be followed by any PYP school in the world….you wouldn't see many units on Ancient Greece…you would rather see a unit based on ancient civilizations (and the concepts behind them. Issues like migration, recycling, refugee status are also technically transferable ideas that have relevance to different degrees in different parts of the world. So the curriculum lends itself to support internationalism and international-mindedness* **EUR1**

This notion of universal concepts also as a driver of interdisciplinarity was taken up by this informant (**ME8**) discussing the IB MYP:

> *This conceptual learning which has been the focus of the MYP framework educational system for the last four or five years will make students better able to make those interdisciplinary links to common key concepts within subjects. Having these common concepts enables interdisciplinary links to be made naturally. There will no longer be the necessity to plan these interdisciplinary links so teachers will not have to spend so much time on it.*

> *Eventually the students will naturally make those links because they will have common concepts. (ME8)*

(the International Baccalaureate itself explains the significance of concepts in the MYP thus:

> *"A concept is a big idea—a principle or conception that is enduring, the significance of which goes beyond aspects such as particular origins, subject matter or place in time (Wiggins and McTighe 1998). Concepts represent the vehicle for students' inquiry into issues and ideas of personal, local and global significance, providing the means by which the essence of a subject can be explored" (*International Baccalaureate 2014*).)*

On the other hand, in addition to the need for what we are terming recontextualization to function as a way of translocalizing with a view to the universal, some educators interviewed stated how important it is to them to localize some (aspect of) knowledge that may perhaps have been originally pedagogically selected in more generic form, as here (**NAm3**):

> *We do a series of studies of lower grades about immigration and make connections to Chinese immigrants and to the Asian influence in New York City and the Jewish population in New York City so from a very early age there connected to a wider understanding of how we are connected and help people*

We might term this a kind of 'authenticating' by elaboration and concretization of a concept into a transmissible form that has local significance and resonance. And this is nothing new – it can be argued that teachers when dealing with the abstract have always instinctively reached for concrete examples of relevance to their students. However, perhaps it is worth remembering as a cautionary note that a desire to be global can backfire if a concept remains in the abstract such that students end up making no connection to it.

In this regard, and as one of the reasons I choose the word 'authenticate' above, the words of this head (NAm3) suggests that in any quest to be more international a school must still be authentic, as he claims to be reminded of daily:

> *The word of the day is oh my gosh... you cannot have a conversation without everyone wanting to be **authentic**.*

One informant (**ME1**) combined the themes of interdisciplinarity, universal concepts and local import, to discuss how their school had experimented with connections between the elements of the IB Diploma Program as follows:

> *Yes. And to see them as interconnected as well as being closely related to the six main subject areas in the program are interrelated with each other so I try to encourage my students to think of Community Action and Service activities that have links to their lessons. One example would be working with elderly X soldiers now living in old people's homes to elicit and record*

oral histories from them, connecting them to the campaign they are associated with such as the Korean War for example to gain a perspective on knowledge and history one at the same time providing a service by recording these personal histories.

5.3.5 Recontextualizing local curricula according to internationally recognized curriculum frameworks in order to import extra cognitive challenge and develop more international competencies.

Beyond the obvious effect on students of internationally assessed curricula, whether students are studying in international schools or national schools, whereby students, in order to achieve an academic credential, will have been brought up to a minimum level of knowledge, students gain tangible benefits from an internationally evaluated program that they might not have obtained otherwise, particularly in terms of skills. In order to help students meet the international assessment criteria the school is obliged to teach on top of what would have been taught in the absence of the international program not only the competencies ostensibly demanded by the examinations but also what are termed enabling skills, to underpin the whole endeavour. In this way, schools can be seen to be recontextualizing local curricula according to internationally recognized curriculum frameworks in order to import extra cognitive challenge and develop more international competencies.

One concrete example of this is improvement, necessitated by the international program, in student ability to use the English language. One way that this comes about is by the IBDP and the IBMYP insisting that students write in English certain things, and be assessed on them, that they would not normally write in English. One informant (School **ME8**) talks about requirements of students whose first language is not English in the IBMYP

> *they needed to write their personal project in English they needed to write lab reports. I also graduated from this school and was taught science and maths in English many years ago but I believe that (..) our new graduates are better and better than me - I cannot compare their English with mine.*

The same informant also goes on to talk about the value for student proficiency in English of having the MYP preceded by study, in English, of the PYP. When asked about possible benefits of the MYP program in their national school other than on student language proficiency, the informant made claims for the IBMYP bringing a fresh, deeper school approach to subjects already taught in the national system:

> w*hat occurs to me in the main lessons is ICT and the design lessons. (..) ICT is taught in the Turkish education system but not the same way as it is taught in IB. one thing that is different is that students have journals they have them for art lessons they have done for IT and design lessons another interesting subject in the IB is PE, where students do not just learn how to*

play games but learn about health, and this is closely linked to science And students keep written records even in PE lessons.

… and this is what the school did. Although there were limitations of the ministry of education they tried their best to make their education more student-centred and to include a more intercultural aspect to their education system

Another informant discussed how one element of the IB Diploma Program, the course known as Theory of Knowledge, has formalized ways of looking at the world that for many countries in the world transcend the local curriculum:

> *TOK offers to students different lenses for looking at the world and more recent versions of the course have including notions such as indigenous knowledge and religious knowledge in addition to the more classical forms of logical validity and so on. So students don't just learn about arguments and making arguments stronger they also learn different notions of what arguments can be.* (**ME1**)

A case is thus made that by focusing on not just content but on ways of transmitting content that are more universally relevant, so that knowledge can be perceived as transcending the here and now, schools and teachers have the potential ability to work within objective restraints of the written curriculum to present curriculum that is, by recontextualization, more international.

Conclusion to Chapter 5

In light of the analysis in Chapter 4 of evidence presented to show how schools with some aspiration to an international identity act with more or less collective embodiment of purpose and with more or less independence, the analysis in Chapter 5 focused on what initiatives schools used their sense of purpose and independence to bring about. Thus, in Chapter 5, data was analyzed to show in considerable detail that three macro-levels of internationalism - medium of transmission, knowledge transmitted and recontextualization of knowledge transmitted – can be seen to exist, manifested in particular instances of school activity.

Chapter 6 Discussion

It was seen in Chapters 4 & 5 how analysis of the data from the empirical study of school international aspiration and identity work revealed a picture of schools very different in essentialist type, working in a range of ways, in very distinct contexts, and striving more or less aspirationally towards more or less ostensibly international construals of identity. This chapter will discuss the results of the analysis to consider how that the schools with more or less claim to international identity may be classified according to the extent and nature of the use they make of certain international opportunities without being restricted to the mere adoption of international programs. As was especially seen in Chapter 5, the ***PDAF*** allowed the sorting of complex data at a variety of levels of delicacy. In an attempt to create from the data a model more amenable to discussion, a case will be made in 6.1 for drawing on this data to suggest certain ideal types of school internationalness. Following, this consideration of ideal-types, discussion in 6.2 will turn again on the Bourdieu notion of field.

6.1 Ideal-types

A notion from interpretive sociology, *ideal-types,* may be seen to be of service in discussion of certain patterns that emerged from the empirical study. This term was used by Weber (1949) to denote a useful way of visualizing notional ideas that coalesce from that which is observed. Weber notably applied ideal-types when theorizing about religion in the Middle Ages, in the study of which he claimed (Weber 1949: 96) it would have been impossible, without ideal-type concepts, to synthesize consistently into ideas the myriad "*combination of articles of faith, norms from church law and custom, maxims of conduct, and countless concrete interrelationships*'" studied, going on to claim to be: "*applying a purely analytical construct created by ourselves*". In this way, ideal-types are presented as permitting outsiders to see in, but in doing so, form impressions which are post hoc classifications emanating from, and grounded in, observations and not classification which is essentialist and before the fact. It is important to state that, in the spirit of Weber, none of the schools studied in this research can be equated completely with any ideal-type, but that the types now presented aim to introduce some more tangible landmarks in a landscape that might otherwise remain more nebulous.

6.1.1 Schools without ostensible claim to an international identity

A significant theme which emerged during the data analysis is that schools vary in the extent that they do work to fashion an identity (identity work); it seems that not all schools make much, or perhaps even any, claim to an identity that is in any way international. This type of school, that does not make substantial claim to an international identity, was represented in the sample of this study by NAm2, the head of which described no specifically international curriculum initiatives. The only instance of some transnational element to the curriculum of this school was mention of exploration of the ethnic make-up of the school's region (which stemmed partly from ex-Europe and ex-Asia immigration). However reference to ethnic groups such as Ukrainians seemed to be more about local history, and as such did not transcend the national in the sense of a current desire to implement any initiative that was classifiable using the PDAF. Outside of curriculum matters, one point of possible international significant raised by the informant was that students at the school were quite aware of and compassionate towards international disasters, giving the example of the school's response to a distant earthquake, which the Head characterized as spontaneous and generous. However, this was not related by the Head in any way to the educational programs of the school.

Although it might have seemed unlikely that there could exist any school that would, according to the PDAF, exhibit absolutely no evidence of any international identity initiative, the example of this school does suggest that there are perhaps many schools that are not particularly bothered, at least, as an institution, by much compulsion to become more international – this in clear contrast to the evidence thus analyzed of many types of international identity initiatives by all the other schools in the study, who despite differences between the schools all go well beyond what was described in the much more locally minded School NAm2.

6.1.2 International Identity Creators

In contrast to the Assemblers and Strengtheners above, some schools in the study were seen to create their own (international) identity, and here will be termed international identity creators. By not adopting ready-made identity components this ideal-type is seen as taking deliberate steps to create international elements to their own identity, and thus, via their ethos, to the identity of their students, that would not have existed had they not taken those steps. So, a third ideal-type that may be posited is the school that is purely independently-minded in its refusal to adopt (even with adaptation) any external international identity-defining element, developing its own international identity from first principles. While this is of course

not realistic, a picture emerged in the study of a number of schools that can be placed towards that end of the spectrum. From the data analysis, glimpses were caught of three schools (**ME7**, **NAm1** & **NAm3**) that are characterized both by a desire to be international and by great independence. free spirits These schools demonstrated collective embodiment of corporate purpose to construe for themselves both distinct, and distinctly international, identities, characterized by the confidence to nurture an ethos that may be described as strong. These schools are not necessarily *international* schools in the essentialist sense of the students holding a variety of passports. Whatever the language of their students, the schools all use a universal language, English, and universal elements to their curriculum to forge their own brand of international education. Of the three macro-levels of internationalism that were analyzed according by means of the Bernstein-inspired grid, the internationalizing identity practices of all three schools could be seen to exist most clearly in the way the school transmitted its curriculum: the schools influence the perception of internationalism in the medium of transmission of knowledge by, where possible (for one of the schools), enrolling more international students and hiring more international teachers, and where not possible by contriving situations where students are forced to interact with other nationalities. There was detailed exploration of the value for these schools of short-term international curricular activities. It was shown that there is scope for at least two of the schools to acknowledge the internationalness of those of their students who, while holding the same national passport, are manifestations of ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity. These schools were shown to pay close attention to the language of transmission, with English being seen very much as crucial, with an insistence on a very high level of English expression, whatever the students' first language.

6.1.3 International Identity Assemblers

A second significant theme which emerged during that classification is that schools may perform aspirational international identities by schools by means of adoption of what might be termed international identity packages. The study drew a clear picture of international school identity depending for some schools, to a greater or lesser degree, on international programs and affiliations. Some schools rely on agencies such as the IB for a large part of their needs not only for international curriculum but also for international student assessment, international school evaluation, international teacher training, and thus for their international identity; these are termed here "(international identity) assemblers". While schools which internationalize their content by the adoption of a more international curriculum have

been shown to make varying use of international curricula to frame, to scaffold, or underpin their identity work to differing degrees, the 'Assemblers represent an extreme. These schools may be placed at one vertex of a triangle of the triangle of types presented here by being seen to determine absolutely their school identity. Such schools thus define themselves internationally purely in terms of the international programs they deliver. These programs have been made for them elsewhere leaving such schools simply the task of taking ownership of identity components and assembling them.

Once again, although in this study no schools were seen to correspond perfectly to the ideal-type, there certainly were schools located towards this extreme position. These were schools that might perhaps be classed as international in an essentialist: schools with no national curriculum to provide structure; with no national inspectorate to provide affirmation. That such schools tend towards proprietary curriculum and membership of internal associations is not surprising. However, if a school corresponded perfectly to such an ideal-type it would naturally be at grave risk of being completely defined by any (branded) programs that it offered and of any badges of affiliation it accumulated.

6.1.4 International Identity Strengtheners

A third ideal type of school that internationalizes its identity might be approximated in our survey by a number of schools which considered international identity elements such as international programs as ways not of defining but of strengthening their identity. The international identity 'strengthening' type expends great effort and significant degrees of school agency to make curriculum identity its own by means of recontextualization of the knowledge it transmits. Not all these schools are regulated by national authorities and are thus neither bound to nor in receipt of benefit from a national curriculum. Thus, in common with the ideal-type of the Assembler, the international identity Strengthener may take on internationalizing identity elements such as curriculum and evaluation to fill a void. In contrast to them, however, rather than merely importing international programs as a direct plug-in-and -use device-like solution to a problem schools of this type that make use of international programs are characterized by the hard work they expend to make curriculum their own. A glimpse of this was seen in the detailed account (by the Head of EUR 1) of how in one school teachers and administrators worked extensively to recontextualize the knowledge transmitted within the international curricula. Asia 1 was shown to use elements of practice of two international

programs in their Primary and High School sections to shape the identity of the Middle School where there was no international program in place.

At the same time, within an approximation of the same ideal type of International Identity Strengtheners, there are seen to be some schools in a national curriculum which are seen to be working to internationalize their identity by various processes of recontextualization. There was evidence that a number of schools recontextualize local curricula according to internationally recognized curriculum frameworks in order to import extra cognitive challenge and develop more international competencies. Concrete examples of this included firstly improvement, necessitated by the international program, in student ability to use the English language, and secondly, a range of study and thinking skills mandated by the international program. Overall it was seen that schools construe an international ethos by which their students can aspire to international identities themselves, and to pursue such a construal despite various objective constraints.

However, it will be recalled from 5.2.3, any school in a national context which sets itself up as more international will find that its self-construal of identity, because it may clash with the construal of identity projected onto the school by its national authority, results in obstacles and hard work for the school, as it juggles between the two separate sets of requirements. This extra work is significant in the sense that the motive for engagement with the second, additional, set of 'international' requirements which entails the undertaking of this extra work is, within an ideal-types description, less immediately clear. In contrast, the International ID Strengtheners which do not belong to a national system have a clear vested interest in taking on the extra work of recontextualization that they deem necessary to make international programs and evaluation systems a bona fide part of their identity: if they did not take on the curriculum, they, not being part of a national system, do not benefit from a national curriculum and therefore would have to expend a huge amount of work in producing their own. On the other hand, the (enormous amount of) extra work undertaken by national schools to make their internationalizing initiatives fit in with their local curriculum and local identity does not seem to have such an obvious payoff that might justify all the extra effort. This question will be taken up in the next section.

6.2 In contrast to the notion of ideal types – translocalization of capital and simultaneous appearance in multiple fields

The suggestion in 6.1 above that three ideal-types (International Identity Creators, International Identity Assemblers and International Identity Strengtheners) might be conjured to interpret the data to give a more visual and hence a clearer sense of the topography occupied by the schools in the study that exhibited initiatives to internationalize their identity was least intuitively strong in the depiction of the third type: the identity strengtheners. Within this type there emerged a picture of schools working hard to do the same thing, in Bernstein's terms to recontextualize "international" knowledge, but even though the identity practices that Identity Strengtheners exhibit can be seen to be a common defining feature, it is less clear in this 'ideal' description that there might be a common motives for all the schools to exhibit such practices. Whereas schools that are international in an essentialist sense seek to adopt, with due recontextualization, elements of identity such as international curriculum, international evaluation of students and programs, an international language for use by all students in the *absence* of any other such set of identity elements, the schools that are by essentialist typology national seek to adopt such internationalizing elements *despite* having such a set of identity determining elements readily provided for them by their national authority. To address this point, the discussion will revisit the notions, from Bourdieu explored in Chapter 1, of position-taking and field.

6.2.1 Field and position-taking

In this section there will be consideration of the motives of schools of the type nominally posited in 6.1 as "identity strengtheners" in terms of how social agents may be positioned or take position in a field. It will be recalled from Chapter 1 that agents, according to a more or less positive habitus, may be more or less inclined to act to attempt to challenge an identity ascribed to them, with identity defined as a position in a field (and as a function of capital holdings). Actors with a more positive habitus may want to take steps to increase capital holdings and thus move to be upwardly in their field, but at every turn will be in competition with fellow field members who are also striving: both to move up and to keep competitors down. Within a field, those in a more dominant position are more likely to work to maintain the status quo, whereas those in more subaltern positions may attempt to subvert the rules that maintain the current equilibrium. It was also established that in such a description, "actors" may apply not only to individual people but also to schools, who may act with more or less collective purpose to aspire themselves to a particular identity and thus as an institution to a more preferential field position.

Through this lens, it may be viewed that we can consider two types of school: schools that are positioned in a field that is national; and those schools that by constitutional proclamation of an identity that is international in an essentialist sense position themselves in a field that is, in the sense of transcending national considerations, transnational. We may then argue that schools placed (constitutionally) in the transnational field take on an international identity, with the work that entails, in the absence of an identity that would obtain naturally from a position in a national field. Not taking on an international identity, which, in this study has been elaborated via Bernstein in terms of knowledge transmitted, transmission of knowledge and recontextualization of knowledge, would deprive a school in a transnational field of any chance of recognition as a bona fide school. Furthermore, the perceived internationalness of schools in this field will take on more competitive significance in cities or relatively tightly circumscribed regions where there are other ('field competitor') schools in the Transnational Field, schools that will striving to maintain if not improve their own field position in terms of prestige, market share of students and so on.

6.2.2 Identity claim as position in a new field

As for the other schools in the *International identity strengtheners* type, the schools defined in essentialist terms as national but nevertheless seen in this study as working to internationalize their identity and ethos may be considered in Bourdieu's terms as working in more than one field. While not independent of local, national requirements, these schools demonstrated sufficient collective embodiment of institutional purpose to construe for themselves, as well as to pursue and achieve, an identity that is distinctly more international than schools with which they share a national system. These are schools that do not lack a curriculum and identity; they have them mandated by their national authority. These national schools make heavy and often very heavy use of international programs to attempt to challenge and transcend the identity that was set for them by their national context. Many of them already use a universal language, English, as a medium of instruction; some were obliged by the adoption of international programs to have English used as a medium of instruction for more subjects and at more grade levels. In doing this, they can be seen to be striving for Bourdieusian capital advantage in two ways. Firstly, they can be seen to moving to a more dominant position in their (local) field, Secondly, by setting an international ethos where bilingualism and cognitive challenge are paramount, they are preparing their students of futures, academic and professional, in a more international field. Or to be consistent with use of the term above, it can be

argued that such schools are staking positions in the transnational field. They do this in a manner which seems to resemble what Chan and Dymock (2008) term a translocalist model.

It was demonstrated in 5.3 above that national schools with aspiration to international identity make use of a potent means of internationalizing school identity that has been determined in this thesis to consist of (international) recontextualization of knowledge by schools themselves, sometimes but not always in conjunction with an external agency. The study highlighted various processes whereby this was effected, including using a foreign language as the language of instruction, translocalizing knowledge and skills by focussing on the transferable and more universally applicable, and, conversely, the use of local contexts to understand and specifize, or 'authenticize', knowledge that is more global. The translocal themes that emerged were:

- Tenets of practice that transcend provenance
- Curriculum content that transcends a particular curriculum
- Curriculum content knowledge that transcends a particular location
- Concepts that transcend the local

It is thus logical to assert that some *Strengtheners* are schools in a national system which aspire more or less to transcend their locale, and thus transcend their national field. It can be argued that, by staking a position in the transnational field, moving to occupy both that and their national field simultaneously, schools can increase their holdings of cultural capital. This capital can be accrued by some official validation of their claim to a position in that transnational field. Any such endorsement, whether it is authorization to deliver an IB program, or accreditation by an international body, or the granting of membership to any organization that itself claims internationalness immediately has too capital results. Firstly, such a school can be seen to have been granted a starter capital (entry-level status in the transnational field). At the same time, the transnational authorizations increase the school's capital holding in the national field: not only can the schools be said, as shown in 5.3, to have strengthened their curriculum and other identity elements through the work of recontextualization sufficiently effectively to be granted the various possible authorizations but they will also through the authorization accrue extra cultural capital, which thus in turn affords them increases of their capital holdings in their national field, a transfer of cultural capital that is inter-field.

6.2.3 Transnational cultural capital

Another way of considering cultural capital is that certain cultural capital may have universal utility in that it transcends particular, national, fields. In the study of the three schools that most closely approximated the ideal-type of international identity creators, there was significant attention paid in all of them to the notion of developing curriculum that is universally valued. Although the creator type is not seen to offer international curriculum per se, it is argued in terms of Bourdieu here that students at such schools can be seen to be being supplied with cultural capital which has a high-surrender value. In the data analysis it was seen how some curriculum content transcends a particular curriculum, how some concepts transcend the local and some skills that transcend a particular academic discipline. In this vein, at these three schools, there was, in addition to strong programs in maths and science, there was a strong compulsory element of students' studying literature - not only be immersed in artefacts of high cultural value in the classical sense, but also as a vehicle for critical thinking, which, in conjunction with excellent English and solid grounding in maths and science will prepare students for tertiary study in English-speaking countries. Such capital imparted to students in school might thus be termed transnational cultural capital. Entry to a university in a more transnational field would of course itself be an investment that would be hoped to mature subsequently into an even greater accretion of cultural capital. For those students at these three schools whose first language is English anyway, entry to an English Medium of Instruction university can be seen as a successful upward movement in their field. On the other hand, for the many students in these schools, who were born into a non-English-speaking educational environment (or field) the accumulation of transnational cultural accruing from study at an English-speaking school will make possible their acceptance to university in another country, in a language other than their first, and thus can be seen to move not within a field but rather to move into a completely different field. Having made such a transnational move to tertiary education, the cultural capital they then accrue through that tertiary study will have an even greater value should they take it back with them into their original field. It is worth noting that in some non-English-speaking countries, the degree of success a school demonstrates in garnering acceptances at, say, US universities, is regarded, and cashed in on, a hugely valuable cultural capital chip for the school. This brief foray into these notions of transnational cultural capital and the transnational accrual of can be seen to be useful to elaborate the application of field theory to school identity practices and may bear further detailed study.

Conclusion

This research studied school agency by focusing on how schools act to self-determine an aspirational international identity, which was conceptualized in Bourdieusian terms as intentional social field position-taking in the face of constraints, both external – field competition for capital resources – and internal - a subject's habitus. Schools, observed to be fundamentally distinct from many organizations in that their identity subsumes their role in the determination of the identity of their students, were studied for their ability to construe and pursue the realization of an international element to their school identity by creating an international ethos to internationalize student identity.

Pedagogic Device Analytical Framework (PDAF)

Use was made of Bernstein's notion of the pedagogization of knowledge to develop a Pedagogic Device Analytical Framework (PDAF) to analyze efforts to internationalize ethos in a variety of schools. The data on ethos internationalizing initiatives was shown to be divisible into three classes: medium of transmission, knowledge transmitted and recontextualization of knowledge selected to be transmitted. In the first of these, initiatives pertaining to the medium by which knowledge is transmitted included heterogeneity of student and teacher nationality, both greatly valued by the schools studied. A particular value of diversity of teacher nationality was found that it allows for the possibility of communication between teachers and students, and between teachers and teachers, where the intercultural interaction is not seen as contrived, and where there is a real reason for insisting that students speak in a language other than the national language. Heterogeneity of student nationality was also valued, but heterogeneity of ethnicity (among students of the same nationality) was less consistently appreciated. Where heterogeneity of student body and of faculty is less readily available, schools were seen to take steps to provide alternative opportunities for students to interact more naturally in an international context outside the classroom, such as international school trips with or without an ostensible academic purpose. It was thus demonstrated that these various factors pertaining to the transmission of knowledge, even those which seem to be objective, and thus immutable, may be amenable to incorporation into a view of identity that is more subjectively aspirational, and that when they do, they seem to have effects that are perceived as real. Schools influence the perception of internationalism in the medium of transmission of knowledge, by where possible enrolling more international students

and hiring more international teachers, and where not possible by contriving situations where students are forced to interact with other nationalities. It was shown that there is scope for schools to acknowledge the internationalness of those of their students who while holding the same national passport are manifestations of ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity. Schools were shown to pay close attention to the language of transmission, with English being seen very much as crucial.

Secondly, within the Bernsteinian framework, knowledge selected for transmission was shown to be international in a variety of ways. The teaching and celebrating (via flags, festivals etc.) of internationalism as a notion in its own right was still found to be prevalent in some schools. A number of schools invested significant amounts of time and energy into short-term international activities for students, with more or less fundamental connection with the school's regular curriculum; two of the schools had members of staff in positions of responsibility dedicated to the maintenance of the international programs. There was some mention in the data of (internationally transferable) national curriculum content from other countries. Internationally transferable content was seen to be imported by means of standard international curriculum programs and international curriculum frameworks.

Thirdly, within analysis of the notion of recontextualization, it was found that curriculum writing is practiced not only by agencies of pedagogical recontextualization (PR), such as university departments, educational, foundations, exam boards, and groups of interested teachers working under the close supervision of exam boards, but also by teachers in schools. It was argued that schools themselves, if they meet a criterion of writing curriculum, or recontextualizing knowledge into their own systems for the transmission of knowledge, should be considered to be agents of PR. Schools were shown to recontextualize knowledge in distinct ways, often with specific focus on the generalization of the particular and on what can be termed translocalization or the transcendence of locale, which is achieved by the teaching and learning of broadly applicable.

Thus, by means of analysis through the lens of the PDAF, it was determined by the study that schools can be described as functions of:

1. A given school's appetite to aspire to an identity of international education and;

2. The extent to which a given school may be seen to be engaging in international identity work which is not restricted to the fact of the adoption of international programs

Ideal-types

Although not all schools in the study made significant claim to an identity that is in any way international, there were schools studied whose claims for identity as schools with an international identity and thus ethos were broad, deep and elaborate. According to their degree of dependence on national systems or on international programs, there emerged three ideal-types of international identity practitioners.

(international identity) Builders

Some schools demonstrated collective embodiment of corporate purpose to construe for themselves both distinct, and distinctly international, identities, characterized by the confidence to nurture an ethos that may be described as strong. Without needing to a recipient of any international programs, and while not international in essentialist terms, these schools were shown to emphasize curriculum content of universal significance and to prepare students for tertiary study in English-speaking countries.

(international identity) Assemblers

At this (extreme) end of the continuum would be the school that is completely independent of national constraints and which defines itself purely in terms of the international programs it delivers. Such “international identity assemblers” run a theoretical risk (not faced by schools within constraining national circumstance) of being completely defined by any (branded) programs that they offer and the badges of affiliation that they accumulate.

(international identity) Strengtheners

These schools displayed varying degrees of school agency to make curriculum identity their own by means of more or less recontextualization of the knowledge they transmitted. While some of these schools are not regulated by national authorities and are thus neither bound to nor in receipt of benefit from a national curriculum, others were seen to be schools that have a curriculum and identity mandated by their national authority. These national schools make heavy use of international programs not to replace national ones but to attempt to challenge and transcend the identity that was set for them by their national context. They do this by various mechanisms of recontextualization of internationally recognized curriculum frameworks in order to import extra cognitive challenge and develop more

international competencies. They thus achieve an identity that is distinctly more international than schools with which they share a national system

School identity practices and Bourdieu

Discussion of this classification by ideal type suggested that a clearer and more complete determination of aspirational international identity and thus ethos formation in schools obtains from considering it in Bourdieusian terms. While the theoretical work of Bourdieu can be seen primarily as explanation of constraints on aspiration, the detailed mechanisms of these constraints also allows conceptualization of ways in which schools may counter those constraints. Schools can be seen to be striving for Bourdieusian capital advantage in two ways. Firstly, one possible strategy described to achieve an aspired-to identity is that a school, like any social actor, may strive to move to a more dominant position in their (local) field. Secondly, a school may, by setting an international ethos where bilingualism and cognitive challenge are paramount, prepare their students of futures, academic and professional, in a more international field. To this end, some schools, it was found, do not just move within a field but by challenging traditional field boundaries strive to move into, and to be considered as belonging to, an additional field, thus being seen to operate simultaneously in two fields: the National and the Transnational.

Through consideration of such strategies, the study has shown ways for schools to be more agentive in their identity practices, even when governed by a supra-institutional authority. In Bourdieu's terms, *habitus* may be seen as a positive or a negative potential for school action, with some schools being seen clearly to have more appetite than others for aspiring to an international identity, whether ascription to such an identity was shared by others or not. It is suggested that the schools seen to be grasping an identity that is more international may be said to be exhibiting more positive habitus.

Future research

The study thus achieved a depiction of a sense of the scope of aspirational identity, and cast light onto a number of mechanisms at in schools that do set out to create for their students an ethos that is more international This potential for policy development work subsumes clear determination of what schools will intend their ethos to be, thereby aiming to have a positive effect on student academic aspirations and mobility, irrespective of the essential categorizations that are ascribed to them. There is perhaps scope for further research into how school identity may be considered to be more than the essentialist identity ascribed to it by

its local context, and into how an aspirational school identity may enable definition of 'ethos' as the means by which the school envisages fostering a certain student identity. It seems useful to be able to articulate school identity in terms of intended student identity, and hence to define school ethos in terms of the elements of identity that a school intends to – attempt to – bestow on its wards.

It is further suggested that the use of the Pedagogic Device Analytical Framework, in its breadth and neutrality, was effective when marshalled in the account of differing levels of international education identity practices. Had there been space, the dissertation might have been able to apply this framework to a need, identified in the research, for a less amorphous description of cultural capital. If a school were serious about operationalizing cultural capital, international or otherwise, it may find useful a potential ability to classify school cultural capital initiatives by level, so that systematic lines of attack may be planned. Although realization of this idea lay beyond the reach of this project such an approach may, in the future, suggest a way towards an original, theoretically useful, and intellectually satisfying, fusion of the work of Bernstein with that of Bourdieu.

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